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ABSTRACT

The bulletin is one in the series "Rural Africana" published 3 times yearly by the African Studies Center, Michigan State University. "Rural Africana" is devoted to current research in the social sciences, exploring the problems of social and economic development in rural Africa south of the Sahara. The present issue is a compilation of papers dealing with the following aspects of rural education: (1) Rural Education in Africa: A Status Report, (2) Prescriptions for Socialist Rural Education in Tanzania, (3) Education for Self Reliance: The Litowa Experiment, (4) Primary Education and Agricultural Development, (5) The Schools as an Agent of Rural Development, (6) A Village Polytechnic in Kenya, (7) Agricultural Education in Africa, and (8) Agricultural Education: A Selected Bibliography. Included in the document is information on related publications and on research projects in the general field of rural African studies. (EJ)

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RURAL EDUCATION

Fall 1969

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RURAL AFRICANA

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RURAL AFRICANA is devoted to current research in the social sciences, exploring the problems of social and economic development in rural Africa south of the Sahara. Each issue focuses upon a specific problem or area of research, presenting papers selected by a guest editor conversant with the subject and with current endeavors in the field. A comprehensive bibliography on the chosen topic is provided in each issue, as well as news of new publications, projects, and individual research in the general field of rural African studies.

The bulletin is published three times yearly. Subscriptions are available for $4.50 per annum (individuals) and $9.00 per annum (libraries and institutions). Interested readers are urged to fill out the "Statement of Research Interests" included at the back of each bulletin. Notes, comments, articles, and research reports are invited. Address all correspondence to The Editor, Rural Africana, African Studies Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48823.

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RURAL EDUCATION IN AFRICA

A STATUS REPORT

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The relationship between education and rural development in Africa has been the subject of considerable attention for many years. As Sheldon Weeks' review of the literature indicates, the early missionaries and all of the colonial governments frequently referred to the need for adapting education to the requisites of primarily agrarian societies (p.49 in this issue). Yet if there is one topic on which all observers of African education agree, it is that the inherited patterns are too European, too academic, and too unresponsive to the needs of the countries they serve. The reasons for this failure can best be understood within an historical framework of three periods: 1) the colonial era, 2) independence, and 3) the post-independence period of nation-building.

During the colonial era, education for Africans was severely restricted and provided the only hope for access to the tiny number of clerical and administrative jobs in the modern sector. Thus it is hardly surprising that attempts by the colonial governments to provide "special" schools for Africans (either vocational, agricultural or otherwise "adapted") were viewed as deliberate efforts to retard the progress of the African community. Regardless of how well-meaning the efforts were, they looked suspiciously similar to the policies of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 in South Africa. The even more basic problem so frequently ignored during the colonial era was exemplified by the complaint that "Africans are unwilling to work with their hands".... Even with adequate agricultural or vocational training, no sensible person would choose a career in unreformed peasant agriculture over better opportunities in urban areas.

From the late 1950's to mid-1960's the coming of independence pushed rural education into the background as the need for high-level manpower became the major determinant of educational development. Starting with the Ashby Commission in 1960 (Investment in Education, 1960), country after country sponsored manpower surveys and developed educational plans based on the need to 1) Africanize the public service and 2) accelerate economic growth through the removal of critical manpower shortages. The high-level manpower approach clearly accelerated the remarkable expansion of post-secondary institutions in Africa, but by the mid-1960's there was considerable concern that they had gone too far too fast. Not only had most countries Africanized many of their public services, but the absorptive capacity of the private sector proved very limited. Even Frederick Harbison, the high priest of manpower planning (e.g., Harbison, 1964), whose survey formed the basis of the Ashby Commission's report, warned of the slow rate of growth of employment in the modern sector (Harbison, 1967).

Thus by the mid-1960's the pendulum began to swing back. High-level manpower constitutes less than one per cent of the population of most African countries, and an educational system oriented toward this goal would be ill suited--if not dysfunctional--to the needs of the rest of the population. Concern that educational development was outpacing economic opportunities became widespread after Archibald Callaway's pioneering studies of unemployment among primary school leavers in Nigeria (Callaway, 1963). In a bitter critique of development patterns in Africa, Rene Dumont (1966) lashed out at the inherited bias in favor of the urban modern sector and called for a major restructuring of priorities to the rural sector.

In September 1966 an international conference was held at Kericho, Kenya to explore the interrelated problems of education, employment and rural development (Sheffield, 1967). The Kericho Conference brought together scholars, civil servants, politicians and representatives of aid agencies in an effort to develop a comprehensive strategy of rural transformation. While recognizing the need to relate the curriculum more closely to rural needs, the conference concluded that the formal school system alone could do little to effect the larger society. Particular attention was given to the need to develop non-academic institutions to carry primary-school leavers over the gap in years and in skills toward self-employment (see Duggan's description of a "Village Polytechnic" in this issue), and the conference concluded that higher priority be given to adult education--the upgrading of the present labor force.

Although it is difficult to assess the influence of any conference, there can be no question of the importance of Julius K. Nyerere's policy statement in the spring of 1967, "Education for Self Reliance" (Nyerere, 1967). In this eloquent denunciation of the elitist educational tradition, Nyerere called for a total reorientation of education which would serve the needs of an agricultural, socialist society. "Education for Self Reliance" went far beyond the addition of vocational, agricultural courses to the curriculum, by linking schools with the community so that the entire community was in effect a school, and the school became a socialist microcosm of the larger society. It is too soon to judge the long-term success of "Education for Self Reliance," but the fact that it represents a genuine commitment by the president of a country gives the issue far greater significance than the hollow recommendations of the colonial governments or of academics. (For a fuller analysis of rural education in Tanzania, see Resnick, 1968).

The articles which follow represent a variety of views on the problem of rural education. As the only African contributor, Toroka's perspective on the implementation of "Education for Self Reliance" is of particular significance. Duggan and Zarembka also write from the point of view of the rural institution itself although the distinction between the two is important: the "Harambee School" is a secondary school with modifications, while the "Village Polytechnic" is a deliberate attempt to remain vocational rather than academic. Professors Cowan and Resnick analyze the problem within the broader context of the total societies. When taken together with Weeks' review of the literature, one common characteristic becomes painfully apparent: the lack of empirical evidence to support the widely expressed conclusions. In his critical review of the Kericho Conference, Jon Moris cited the paucity of hard facts as responsible for the vagueness of the recommendations. As the person most closely involved in some of the follow-up to the Kericho Conference, Moris noted that field research was urgently needed with regard to:

(a) the actual dimensions of youth employment in rural areas, to identify the alternatives now being used and to determine empirically whether or not a "problem" exists,
(b) different definitions of "employment" to find which are most suitable for the kinds of multiple commitment which seem to characterize rural occupations,
(c) the predominant patterns of family control over resources in relation to youth opportunities under different cultures and different resource-use systems, especially vis-a-vis bridewealth and land,
(d) the magnitudes and characteristics of all self-employed occupations in rural areas,
(e) measurement of the productivity per unit of investment of the various alternative schemes for labour intensification,
(f) the impact of primary education upon the consumption habits and expectations of rural youth,
(g) the national pattern of youth aspirations in relation to regional and situational differences as well as to the actual disposition of opportunities (Moris, 1968, pp. 90-91).

Despite the growing recognition of the central importance of the rural sector in African development, most research has centered on technical rather than human factors. Until empirical research can identify such critical variables as those listed above, rural education will remain more rhetoric than reality.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS FROM McGILL UNIVERSITY

Roger Genoud's Nationalism and Economic Development in Ghana (Praeger, 1969, 245 pp., $17.50) is an analysis of the economic and political problems faced by Nkrumah's regime. Genoud sees nationalistic anticolonialism, not socialism, at the heart of Nkrumah's development strategy. The book is available from the publisher, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 111 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York 10003.

Problems and Prospects of Economic Integration in West Africa by Nicolas G. Plessz (McGill University Press, 1968, 92 pp.) concludes that "efforts to aid the economic development of African States through schemes of regional integration have ended in frustration due to overestimating the possibilities of international co-operation, instability of regimes, lack of expertise and dependence on methods suitable only to highly industrialized nations." The book is available from McGill University Press, 3458 Redpath Street, Montreal 25, Quebec.

Audrey I. Richards in The Multicultural States of East Africa (McGill University Press, 1969, 160 pp., approx. $4.50) examines "the economic and political characteristics of East African states inhabited by a number of ethnic groups...in terms of their potential as unifying or disruptive forces--the sometimes aggravating effect of independence on new or existing ethnic rivalries." The book may be ordered from McGill University Press, address above.

Microcosmogeny and Modernization in African Religious Movements by James W. Fernandez (1969, 35 pp.) "examines religious cult movements in terms of the fulfillment offered to participants rather than simply as a form of protest against the larger society." The booklet is available at $.50 (additional copies, $.25) from the Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, 3437 Peel Street, Montreal 112, Quebec.

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR SOCIALIST RURAL EDUCATION IN TANZANIA*

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When economists and educators think of rural education in Africa, as elsewhere they generally think in terms of classrooms, weekend courses, workshops, and various instructional devices used by the agricultural extension services. Among rural education problems in Africa are the ill-equipped primary-school leavers and the rather slow transformation from "traditional" to "modern" life. The one bright spot is that there is no shortage of qualified students to send on to the secondary schools and into the "high-level manpower pipeline."[1]

These general remarks also apply to Tanzania. The country has a "school-leaver problem" of considerable magnitude: in recent years about 50,000 each year, or 88 per cent, of the primary-school leavers have not continued on to secondary school; they have not been fitted for effectual contribution to rural life; and wage employment has declined since independence and remained constant from 1964 to 1968 (Tanganyika, Budget Survey, 1964). Agricultural production is generally peasant and at an early stage--labor and land intensive and employing few "modern" techniques. The educational system is uniform for rural and urban areas and typical of the colonial structures found in other former British African colonies: academic in content, certificate-occupation oriented, and replete with examination filtering devices. There are a variety of other educational institutions in rural Tanzania--farmers' training centers, adult education institute sections, community development courses, and literacy programs--but the formal school system is by far the most significant.

While much work has been done over the years in attempting to discover the causes of educational problems and in designing programs to correct them, it will be argued in this paper that, in light of the country's socialist goals, rural education in Tanzania has failed in the past and will continue to do so unless dramatic steps are taken to implement the government's policy of self-reliance. Two avenues of exploration will be prescribed for correcting these failures.

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*I would like to thank Columbia University and the Schweitzer Chair of Economic Development at Columbia University for the research support which allowed this paper to be written on a full stomach.

[1] The main bottlenecks in this phase of African education are seen as the lack of secondary and post-secondary facilities and poorly planned and initiated programs.

SOCIALISM AND THE FAILURE OF RURAL EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

The theme of rural education has taken on great policy significance in recent years in Tanzania. In 1967 TANU (the political party) issued the Arusha Declaration, plotting the socialist path for the country. A noteworthy feature of the new policy relative to this paper was its position on rural development.

> Our emphasis on money and industries has made us concentrate on urban development....Because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of these agricultural crops. This is in fact the only road through which we can develop our country... (TANU, 1967, pp. 12, 14).

Tanzania's form of socialism aims at democracy (TANU, 1967, p. 4) and is founded upon and promoted by self-reliance.

> In order to maintain our independence and our people's freedom we ought to be self-reliant in every possible way....If every individual is self-reliant...then the whole Nation is self-reliant and this is our aim (TANU, 1967, p. 18).

The declaration was followed closely by two policy statements from President Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance and Socialism and Rural Development. Several points pertinent to the present argument emerged. According to Nyerere, the education system is to be made relevant to the problems of the country; these are primarily rural problems.

> And the truth is that our United Republic has at present a poor, undeveloped, and agricultural economy....Tanzania will continue to have a predominantly rural economy for a long time to come....This is what our educational system has to encourage. It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige....Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past (Nyerere, Educational for Self-Reliance, 1967, pp. 6-7).

Rural development will be pursued on a communal basis, primarily through the establishment of ujamaa villages, but generally accomplished by the cooperative efforts of the people (Nyerere, Socialism and Rural Development, 1967, pp. 6-7).

Nyerere also made clear that education will continue to be seen as an investment, rather than a consumption good.[1] Although the tone for educational reform was set and several leading proposals offered,[2] the main restructuring was left to the Ministry of Education. For its part, the Ministry has made some move to introduce agricultural subjects into the curricula, and schools around the country have their own food plots. But serious reform has yet to be undertaken; basically, the educational system in Tanzania is the same as it was prior to the policy changes.

Tanzanian socialism is a highly egalitarian philosophy, prescribing not only a process of non-capitalistic development but a distribution of the consumption share of growth primarily to the rural sector--that is, to the peasants, who constitute about 95 per cent of the population.

> This is the objective of socialism in Tanzania. To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live at peace with his neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury (Nyerere, Socialism and Rural Development, 1967, p. 4).

The people are not only to receive the fruits but to produce them as well. That is, the egalitarianism of Tanzanian socialism extends to efforts in addition to receipts. Other programs, socialist and capitalist, base growth on a development of the monetary sector, which, in turn, gradually encroaches upon the non-monetary segment; farmers become cash croppers, workers move to the cities to work in industries, and the population in general participates, on an individual basis, in the division of labor. Tanzanian socialism envisions progress beginning with the peasant base--on a broad front, having the full participation of the people from the outset--and rural development in communal terms with respect to deliberation, organization, and effort.

Finally, the thread and fabric of Tanzanian socialism are African.

> The traditional African family lived according to the basic principles of ujamaa....This pattern of living was made possible because of three basic assumptions of traditional life...a recognition of mutual involvement in one another...all basic goods were held in

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[1] Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance,1967, pp. 6-7. "The purpose of Government expenditure on education in the coming years must be to equip Tanganyikans with the skills and the knowledge which is needed if the development of this country is to be achieved." Tanganyika, Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1964-1969, Vol. 1, p. viii.

[2] Agricultural plots to make the schools self-reliant in food, a raising of the entrance age for primary school, and a call for the primary system to become "a complete education in itself" were among the suggestions put forward by Nyerere in Education for Self-Reliance, 1967, pp. 6-7.

> common, and shared among all members of the unit...everyone had an obligation to work....We must take our traditional system, correct its shortcomings and adapt to its service the things we can learn from the technologically developed societies of other countries (Nyerere, Socialism and Rural Development, 1967, pp. 1-4).

However, rural education in Tanzania is unsuited for the accomplishment of the country's socialist aims, and current thinking about educational reform in Africa does not provide guidance for corrective action.

The failure of Tanzania's system is based on two errors. First, formal rural education is carried on away from rural life, substantively and formally. Second, formal education is visual rather than auditory.

Indigenous education, of course, varies considerably throughout the country, but its most significant feature is that it is a total phenomenon, reaching into every aspect of life and occurring more or less perpetually. It is not simply a haphazard thing (learning as life goes on), but an education by degrees as the African child moves from infancy to adulthood. He is taught his roles in relation to the other members of his family and society; he learns his economic duties; he is instilled with philosophy, morals, history, mathematics, logic, benchmarks with which to make social choices and judgements, and a variety of technical information necessary for his survival. He acquires all these from his family, his own age group, and his elders, in sometimes formal ways but nearly always on a continuous basis within his life's environment. The important point is that his education is meaningful and successful because what he learns and the manner in which he learns are an integral part of his life. In the formal system, in contrast, he receives in the schoolroom a series of "things" to be learned; these are generally foreign to his past, present and future experience--yet he is expected to use what has been imparted to him.

It is now an old story to Africanists that (1) pre-colonial societies in Africa possessed an elaborate system of education (Moumouni, 1968), and (2) colonial systems essentially ignored this custom-value-information imparting mechanism. Thus, we reject the earlier designation of "noble (but ignorant) savage" and have set about aiding African governments in their attempts to "Africanize" their educational systems. We are still constricted, however, by the idea that "indigenous" education does not prepare Africans for entering the "modern" world, is not "problem-solving-oriented," and, consequently, is unsuited as a training ground for people who are to solve their country's problems. So we agree that they should be sent off to the school to become literate so that they may have their minds molded in the ways of reasoning and the scientific method--to inquire in some cases but to receive technological dicta in most--in order to carry forward the "agricultural revolution."

This means that success in rural education lies in tearing the minds of the educated generation away from its indigenous base. The implication is that success in solving rural problems lies in "Westernizing" the African's mind and, therefore, his outlook. For it is Western man, along with his prototypes in the rest of the world, who uses education as a problem-solving tool; who pursues it in order to explain and explore; who has developed the division of labor which leaves the vast majority of education in the hands of "specialists" called educators; and who has organized it, for the most part, away from the places of life: in the school. Thus, we have looked at African education over the years in terms of numbers and function--whether it be to impart Western culture, to provide low and middle-level civil servants, or to promote economic development. Adjustments have been made for "African conditions": boarding schools because of dispersed populations, agricultural courses because most students were expected to return to the land, mission and Koranic schools where resources could not provide enough government facilities, technical schools to fill manual gaps, and universities often to pander to the prestigious whims of the politicians.

Basically, there has never been much to differentiate the educational systems implicit in such thinking and existing in Tanzania from those found in the rest of the developed (Western) world; the schoolhouses, the courses, the books, the benches, the slates, the "licensed" teachers, the grades, the tests, the certificates and degrees, and ultimately the material rewards are all to be found in both. To be sure, it is possible that such a system, sufficiently widespread and carried on long enough, would succeed in producing an African capable of attacking and solving his nation's problems as efficiently as men in other nations. Yet at the end of this process he would no longer be an African. Formal education in Tanzania is, necessarily, a foreign phenomenon. Herein lies the contradiction with the country's socialist policies. It is a source of failure for the system too. For the subject matter seems irrelevant to rural life, and the material pay-off for which the system is designed--the passage to secondary schooling and ultimately to a relatively high-income occupation--is not the consequence for the vast majority of the students who pass through the primary system. Furthermore, the education they receive sends them back to rural life with no better knowledge of that life and no better equipment with which to improve it. Most important, the system is competitive, rather than cooperative and individual, rather than communal. Thus, it fails not only by its own measures but by the pertinent yardsticks of Tanzanian socialism.

A second source of failure of rural education in Tanzania is its visual rather than auditory orientation. The failure lies in the low level of communication. The consequences are two-fold: a reduction in the accomplishment of goals and a contradiction between the direction of the formal educational system and the philosophy of Tanzanian socialism.

There can be little argument with the contention that the formal educational system in Tanzania, as in the rest of Africa, is fundamentally visual. This stems from the fact that it has grown out of Western forms, which themselves are visually directed. It is a system in which communication relies upon the written word, the seen experiment, the drawn diagram, and the pictures of a world present and past. The power of this approach rests on the consequence of the written examinations at critical points--failure means discontinuation--and the historical importance of things written in determining the relationships between Africans and Europeans. The "word of the Lord" is written in the missionary's Bible; the colonial master's laws were written and rules were posted; the tax collector gave chits in exchange for money, which itself had different powers over goods as the numbers written on it altered; and, of course, the certificate showing educational attainment resulted in the difference between life in the bush and acquisition of the treasures of the white man's world. These powers persist and are well known to Africans. The words to be known are specific; to know some of them is to be safe, and to know all of them is to be prosperous.

Indigenous forms of communication, on the other hand, tend to be auditory rather than visual. Messages are passed by sounds; the contention that the sources of African history will be primarily oral and that oral accounts bear a remarkable consistency from person to person is rapidly gaining credence; and it is not odd to find an African child who can recite some eight hundred years of tribal history by the age of fourteen. The apparent ability of Africans to learn languages easily, as well as the fact that it seems more important to discuss changes in agricultural techniques proposed by agricultural extension officers than to see the results, might also be offered as evidence of their auditory orientation.[1]

It is difficult to establish that the formal educational system in Tanzania has failed to communicate its messages effectively or that such a failure, if it exists, is to be explained by its reliance upon visual instruction. Personal experience and discussion with various educators of Africans present some evidence which at least is consistent with the hypothesis. Diagrams seem to illuminate very little; students tend to memorize large quantities of figures and long passages from books. The A Level Cambridge School Certificate examination did not allow enough students through to fill the places available in higher school or subsequently, in the University College, Dar es Salaam; and attempts to channel secondary-school students into science courses have recently resulted in a pass rate of less than fifty per cent (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development and Planning, 1969). The primary educational system has been indicted for failing to effectively transmit its agricultural and health messages (Elstgeest, 1968). And it is common to find that graduating university students not only believe in witchraft but claim to have seen or known personally someone who claims to have seen numerous examples of it.

There are undoubtedly many sources of explanation for these alleged phenomena. Few primary-school teachers in Tanzania have more than a primary education plus two years of teachers' training; the academic emphasis itself is so foreign to the realities of post-school life that communication is bound to be poor; students are "forced"--through placement controls--to take science courses in the secondary schools and education degrees at the university or else discontinue their education;[2] the values of the system as a whole are often foreign to the country (Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, 1967, pp. 2-4); and the pay-offs are geared to the student who memorizes and puts ultimate weight on the written word and faithful reproduction of "facts." However vague the links between the failures of the system and its visual pedagogy may be, Africans and their indigenous education do tend to be auditory. On *a priori* grounds alone, then, a visual pedagogy should be less efficient than an auditory one as a method of communication. And certainly a visual pedagogy is foreign, while an auditory orientation would be African; the former, therefore, is in contradiction to the educational goals of Tanzanian socialism.[3] For if Tanzanians are auditory and their educational system visual, achievement of the system's goals will eventually alter a fundamental attribute of the African's nature.[1]

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[1] It might also be argued that touch is an important form of communication among Africans; photographs seem to take on more meaning when they are handed to the ever-reaching viewers.

[2] That is, places are offered according to the manpower needs of the country rather than along the lines of the abilities or preferences of the students.

[3] Not too much weight should be placed on this "ideological" argument. It is simply offered as an additional rationale for the prescriptive measure offered in the following section.

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR RURAL EDUCATION

Two possible lines of rebuilding might be suggested. The following remarks are not intended to be recommendations for policy action but merely proposals which seem to merit further research and discussion.

Regarding the problem of structure, if there is agreement that rural education ought to be directed towards the accomplishment of rural and national goals, it must be restructured to become as diverse as those goals. If the system is considered a potential tool for the solution of rural problems and the achievement of rural goals, rather than a training ground for secondary-school pupils, it will be possible to ferret out the problems and organize the system to deal with them. Basically, the school should become just another building in the community, used when necessary and desirable to gather people, house equipment, carry out demonstrations, and perhaps keep records. The distinction between students and non-students should be removed, since rural problems affect, and ought to be attacked by, the entire community. This is not to say that there should not be some distinctions whereby only certain people--whether they be differentiated by age, sex, occupation or whatever--are gathered for instruction. But it is to say that instruction should in no way be limited to people in certain age groups, currently designated as students. Grade levels, exams, and certificates ought to be eliminated also, and where it is necessary to limit instructional groups to those who have attained a certain level of previous knowledge, simple selection devices should be developed. The classrooms would be the fields, the villages, the roads, and the waterways, as well as the rooms in the current schools. The subject matter would include primarily agriculture, animal husbandry, construction, hygiene, child rearing, citizenship; it would be specified by the community, the party, and the government. The instructors would be all those with knowledge and capable of communicating it: successful farmers, midwives, party cadre, as well as government technicians and teachers with more traditional backgrounds. The school year would be continual and the hours at the convenience of the community.

More specifically, rural educational reform might be looked at in the following manner. First, educational resources would be surveyed. They would include those in the formal and other systems--i.e., adult education, community development and agricultural extension--and the indigenous, non-formal resources. The latter would embrace a good part of the rural population since nearly everyone performs educational functions of some sort. However, inasmuch as classification would be made according to function, resources not currently utilized, such as successful farmers and women who have completed community-development courses, would be catalogued. Finally, the assessment would be undertaken by those who will utilize the resources: government, party, region, and community. Thus, government would simply count already known resources and add some from the broader definition; TANU, which already uses a wide variety of educational tools, would most likely add very little to their evaluation. The new appraisal would come at the community level, where non-formal educational implements have never been measured. The entire exercise would be simple and informal and designed to make the various units aware of the educational facilities, much more broadly defined than at present, available to them for confronting rural problems.

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[1] It might be argued that the technological world (the one containing the material things Tanzanians want) necessitates this type of person, this pattern of thinking, before it will yield its fruits. However, only statistical correlations relating technological advancement to visual pedagogy could be produced at this time, and there are no obvious grounds for suspecting a causal relationship between the two. Furthermore, an alternative method has yet to be tried.

Second, educational goals must be specified. This would take place along the same lines as the assessment of resources. Here, the change for government and TANU would involve a specific focus on rural education, rather than simply on national aims.[1] The fundamental change in the approach to educational development would be contained in non-party and non-government evaluation of their requirements--undertaken on a village, area, district and regional basis. People would meet in groups; their representatives would confer with representatives from other areas and regions and, with and without the aid of government and TANU, articulate their educational requirements. This would involve identifying their problems and aspirations as communities and, with assistance, seeing which ones could but be confronted with the aid of the dissemination of knowledge. Agricultural change would be the chief problem of rural areas, but certainly not the only one. Poor health conditions and illiteracy would appear on most tabulations. But some communities would see the gain in certain kinds of knowledge, i.e., political or historical, as an important goal; others would place a heavy emphasis on the arts; and still others would see their educational goals purely in terms of material well-being.

The third step would be, of course, to examine resources against goals and make choices. Government's choices have already been made with respect to the quantity of rural education, but changes in quality would certainly emerge from the re-evaluation suggested; many are already implicit in Education for Self-Reliance. The community analyses and choices would certainly produce changes in rural education. Much that has until now been entirely informal would become organized; resources which have not yet been tapped would be put to use; communities would move towards accomplishing specific goals, would grapple with the problems of organization and attainment, and would profit as communities rather than indirectly through their individual members who receive formal education. Since the educational resources and problems belong to the people as groups, rather than to individuals, and since socialist pay-offs are primarily communal, members of the community have the responsibility to make their knowledge available to the entire group as well as the right to share in the return.

Such a system, involving essentially a demolition of the present rural educational structure in Tanzania, appears to have two major flaws; first, it does not seem a system at all but merely an anarchistic prescription; second, it abandons whatever is valuable of the present system. Neither criticism need be valid.

While the potpourri of instructional tasks and methods within this discussion appear to be formless, it is quite possible to sort them into some systematic form of policy proposals. This has not been done because it would be far removed from the main point: that the rural system of education in Tanzania ought to be returned to rural Africa in both substance and form. It is not at all beyond the realm of possibility for communities, in conjunction with the party and the government, to work out educational priorities, specify required resources, design programs, and designate functions. It is perfectly plausible for the government to restructure its teacher education on a broader basis so that those teaching in rural areas will be equipped to communicate on, in some cases, a wider and, in others, on a more specific variety of subjects. There is no reason why teachers must only be those with certificates--often the least qualified to teach--or why ideas and information can only be communicated in a classroom.

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[1] It would be argued that the same division should be followed if the system or reform were applied to the entire educational system, since neither the resources nor the needs are uniform when a disaggregated approach is used.

Nor is it necessary to discard whatever is valuable of the present system. Literacy is certainly among its most prized commodities, and there is no reason why it would not receive the same priority in the new system. History, literature, science, a development of the arts--all have an important place in rural life, and instruction in these areas certainly is consistent with an education which is woven into the fabric of rural life.

Finally, high-level manpower needs would not be ignored with such a restructuring. While many of these arguments bear with equal weight upon the entire educational system in Tanzania and reform is required throughout, the ideas put forward here are directed towards rural education. However, it is not difficult to conceive of reform along the suggested lines which continues to provide the small number required for secondary education. A wholly urban-drawn supply, accompanied by a removal of the income differentials between educated and uneducated, is one possibility. A national selection process along the lines of mental aptitude might be devised (not confined to any age group) to seek the required numbers.

Such a system would move towards correcting the inadequacies of the present structure on several fronts. First, it would be more in keeping with African values since it would grow out of the indigenous form of education. Second, it would produce an education related to the needs of rural Tanzania. Third, it would have a greater opportunity of succeeding in its goals because it would be part and parcel of the life of the community. And fourth, it would be consistent with Tanzanian socialism because it would be cooperatively developed.

Regarding the problem of pedagogy, "auditory orientation" is not meant to replace all visual modes of instruction with oral techniques. It would not simply involve "talking" to students but communicating with "sounds" in a way that is foreign to Western man. The orientation of Africans to auditory learning should be translated into an African form of education. Its dimensions must be discovered, and its possibilities and limitations explored. If the hypothesis that Africans' learning processes are fundamentally different from those of Western students is correct, a pedagogy based on this phenomenon is possible. The greatest strides, perhaps the only ones, in such research must be made by Africans.

This kind of thinking and development embodies what, I think, is truly the "Africanization" of education. While it may be true that knowledge knows no continental boundaries, the same is not true concerning the way in which knowledge is received, digested, interpreted, and used. Thus, not only would such a development constitute a more efficient transmission of knowledge, but it would be consistent with Tanzanian aspirations of maintaining cultural identity while changing.

To some extent the proposals in this paper are attacks upon observed problems. However, these are not the only lines along which solutions might be found. Again, I wish to stress that these proposals are seen as initial steps in a continual process of change as problems, goals and conditions alter. Most important are the implicit conclusions of this paper that Tanzanian socialism can be translated into a working reform of the educational system, that rural development can be system- rather than project-oriented, and that the goals of the socialist revolution in Tanzania and of education for self-reliance can be accomplished substantively by sweeping but quiet change.

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REPORT ON THE SUPPLY OF SECONDARY-SCHOOL TEACHERS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING AFRICA

At this time studies of Botswana, Malawi, and Gambia have been completed. Other reports in progress include Tanzania, Zambia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria. Copies of the studies are free of charge to organizations and agencies directly concerned with providing teaching personnel or funds to English-speaking African nations. Copies to other individuals or organizations are available for $2.00 each. Inquire by writing to Director, International Studies, 513 Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48823.

EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

THE LITOWA EXPERIMENT

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The Interpretation

On hearing Education for Self-Reliance sung about over the radio, written about in the newspapers and talked about in many speeches it is easy to feel that we are hearing and reading everything there is to know about it. This important document is surely more than we have yet heard or understood. It calls for changes in the attitudes and thinking of the people towards the meaning and purpose of education for this generation and after. It requires a complete overhaul of the attitudes of the people towards education, remoulding the thinking in order to develop a socialist education which will serve a socialist people of a socialist society. The first essential is that those concerned with developing an education of this ideal type must be dedicated socialist people. As well as being dedicated the people concerned must also have a good understanding of the society we require to be built and of the practical needs of the economy underlying it. The President in Education for Self-Reliance says that the children must be brought up to realise these things and therefore should be put "to work together." He suggests that this might be done by the setting up of a school shamba or workshop in which they can be taught with practical work that our society is going to be a socialist one with people "living together and working together for the benefit of all," and that it will be one relying on an agricultural and rural economy. It is therefore necessary first to read and understand Socialism and Rural Development before one can fully understand Education for Self-Reliance, for the one cannot go without the other. It is necessary for these ideas to have practical expression and there must therefore be projects but the successful interpretation cannot be measured in projects.

Projects

There are several points which need attention when deciding on what sort of projects would be suitable for a school to work on. There must be an economic gain. It is our experience that the pupil will understand, learn and be happy doing even the dirtiest hard work if it proves practically to be a paying one. It must also be related to the life the pupil is going to live. It is no use spending time planning something like a project for training good party goers. In the first place this is unrelated to the life of any Tanzanian and secondly, what the country needs is farmers and workers. Above all, the projects should not be done as clubs and societies for such things have in the past been treated as optional. Projects have to be real and sizeable. Experimental school plots do not fulfil this condition. They are looked upon as a nuisance and thus prove to be failure. They had to be because they were only show pieces which in no way enhanced the real learning situation.

It is important to take into account the ability of the children, particularly the ability to be able to cope with the amount of work involved in projects, for it is easy when making plans to be tempted to make grandiose ones which may never be completed. These lack what one might call a practical vision like some parts of the Five Year Development Plan. Projects need to be planned carefully taking these things into account and not hastily just to be able to show something quickly. There is no rush in development neither are there necessarily quick results. The work has to be done gradually and maintained at a high degree of consistency.

It must at this time be considered whether the projects fit into the present syllabus and curricula, because the new policy is being grafted onto the old established and rigid policy of education. There will need to be big changes before any completely reasonable planning for a school can be fully effective in conjuction with Education for Self-Reliance.

Projects in Operation in Litowa School

We have 245 children in the school at this time but as a great number are very young and small, the amount of work they can do is limited. The first projects were farm work. Other projects have been and will be taken on as the previous ones are established and other work appears possible. All the work is done by the school as a community. All property is communally owned.

1. Farm work: We have a main school shamba with fifteen acres planted already with beans, groundnuts, and soya-beans. There are various other small plots which total eight acres and have been planted with fruit trees, forest trees, cassava, choroko and cowpeas.

2. The Wool Industry: The work includes the spinning on wheels of the wool into threads, washing, dyeing, weighing and preparing for marketing. The work was started and begun by the Ruvuma Development Association to introduce the idea. It has since been given as a responsibility to the school to train the children so that they can be efficient future operators of this industry. There are seven girls and one boy who work in two teams in this. They are drawn from the two top classes. The boy is also being trained in simple carpentry so that he could carry out minor repairs on the wheels. He is also being slowly trained as a future manager of the industry. At the head of this team of volunteers are one member of one of our Villages and the wife of our Association Advisor. She is the one with the technical knowledge and at this stage does the more intricate work such as dyeing and the weighing of the thread. She is also doing research in producing dyes from local materials, which we hope to use in the future in the production of higher class goods for export to countries where natural dyes are much sought after. When this research is completed and catalogued with necessary qualities and mixtures, it will be taught to the children. These children are also taught knitting and later when the equipment is ready they will also be taught weaving. It is a long-term project in which much care and thought are necessary.

3. Nursing and Nursery Work: Among the problems now facing our village communities is the lack of people with medical knowledge and of people trained for

nursery work. The association decided to start by training the children in the school. We have already two pupils who are working in the village dispensary and it is hoped that these children will learn as they work. It is our intention to add to this number so as to make a reasonable team which would be gaining a knowledge of the basics of village nursing and also be trained as Nursery Nurses. We intend to do the initial training locally as soon as we have found the right people to do it. From within the team one or two of the most able children might be selected for further training in nursing at proper nursing schools outside the village.

On the nursery side, we have a group of six girls who work in three teams in the two villages of Litowa and Luhira with the pre-school children in these villages. These go out regularly in twos. The work in the nurseries includes cooking and feeding the young children, washing and cleaning them and their clothes, making and repairing suitable clothes, taking them for walks and play, etc. As soon as these girls are old enough and have gained enough experience and a proper organisation in the nurseries has been made, they would introduce the children to numbers and letters and teach and tell them revolutionary songs and stories so as to slowly build in them the spirit required by their parents.

Possible Future Projects

1. Poultry: A part of this project has already been covered as it was one of the few projects planned for last year. The children erected a wire run and built a house ready to bring in the hens. This was an example of a project not well planned. The farm was not going last year so that there was not the food to feed the birds. To start on modern poultry farming would be at first expensive. We had planned to start by cross-breeding with good cocks and using local birds. The children's parents had promised to send birds as part of their contribution to their school but it was not possible at that time to arrange the collection of these birds from such widely scattered villages.

2. Rabbits: Also in connection with the poultry we are thinking of keeping rabbits for these have been found to do well with poultry. Timber for building the hutches has already been found and we hope soon to start on this.

3. Fish Ponds: The children have been considering building a small fish pond near the school for two purposes--learning and food. On discussing it with the parents it was seen that it was of not much purpose to build a small one, but a relatively large one should be planned which would provide food for a large number of people and be economically paying. This was agreed but as there would be certain small expenses in buying a few materials for building it was decided that the village of Litowa should join with the school in the project. Discussion took place between the school and the village on the details of the work. Work started by clearing the site and we hope soon to start digging the furrow to supply the water and building the bank. On this same site we hope to build in the future a series of fish ponds. The fish for these ponds will be those recommended and provided by the fishery department.

4. Pig Raising: Near the fish ponds we are intending also to keep pigs as their droppings provide excellent food for fish. This will also be a combined project for the school and the village.

The School and the Community

Since the day this school was founded five years ago, it belonged to the community and has been part of the community. There is one and only reason why it has since maintained its originality. When these communities began, they were setting out on to a new way of life both in economics and thought. They were building a tradition. A tradition which was to be handed on from one generation to another. If they sent their children to the ordinary schools in the country they would be divorcing them from the life in the communities and the tradition they were building. Therefore this school was founded in order "to educate the children to stay in these communities and carry on the work their parents have begun." It follows that for a long time it has not been the intention of the parents to prepare their children for secondary school. If some went into secondary schools or any other form of higher education it would be as a result of the geography and the math they learnt in school and not a result of the "preparation." This did not mean that the aim was to deny the children an education as given in other schools, They were to be educated as anyone else in the country but with a different aim. This aim, to serve the community

The school is thus fully integrated with the community. The children live and go to school within the community. They regularly work on the communal lands. The parents also come to help with the school lands. Children and parents together build roads and bridges, repair and build houses. An example is the school block which the parents and the children had worked on hand in hand from the beginning to end. The children help to clean the village surrounding, to put fertilizer on the communal crops, to plant and harvest the tobacco, they assist the cooks in the kitchen, grind maize for the school and the community, take the village cattle to pasture. Parents, as a voluntary duty, come to cook food for the school children and so on. In fact, the children are part of the community, and they are growing up to serve it in future as full members. Their spirit, there is not doubt, is a communal one and their parents have great hopes in them and respect for them.

Furthermore, during two of the year's school holidays the children are sent in groups to live and work in any one of the twelve villages forming the Association. They are not sent there either as a study tour or to enjoy the comforts of being on holiday. The purpose is to show them the village communities of which they will one day become members and workers and to allow them to see and learn for themselves the differences in progress and organisation from village to village. From these visits we believe that a pupil can learn from experience. They can see that often the best leaders do not come from the educated elite. They will therefore grow to respect all useful persons. This is the opposite of the general trend of today when many children are brought up to respect people not because of their practical abilities, but because of their position or education. While in these villages the children are under the village authority and stay there as any other person, living with the village family. From this again the children learn to respect any parent, not only their own, which is one of the essential of any Ujamaa society. There is much that these children can learn in these times of living in the other villages.

On these points the school differs from other schools. In any school in town today, it is true that it is in the community--but what is the relationship of the community to the school besides the mere fact that the children come from it? Does any parent other than the Government School's Inspector know or take any interest in what is taught in school? And he only does because it is his duty! Are the teachers in these schools aware in their teaching that they should be helping to bring up children to serve the community they are in? Or are they teaching them only so that they can pass exams and disappear from the community to the Secondary schools? Do the children feel any obligation to this community they are in? Does the school spend even a few hours on Saturdays doing simple services to this community which is devoting so much of its meagre resources to educate its children? The fact is that many schools have been and still remain as the President says, "enclaves"--and the communities around them have been too ignorant or too reluctant to pay any attention to them.

Patterns of Working Together

We accept the truth that the practice of Ujamaa existed in many of the African societies in the past. History shows that it has been the way of life in practice in those days. It has been there within people but affected by the changes brought about by the impact of alien cultures. It may be true to say that a number of the old understanding people of the country would feel no surprise to hear the practice of Ujamaa talked about today. They would feel no surprise because it is something that they have themselves experienced. It is the young who do not understand Ujamaa or what it is like to be a "Mjamaa." They do not understand because it is something they hear of only. It is these that we are called to direct our thoughts to.

The state is trying its best to teach Ujamaa through radio broadcasts, but for most of the people in the country it is like a teacher telling a pupil "we are told that the stone is black". So everybody must say that stone is black while neither the teacher nor the pupil have seen the stone. Suppose that tomorrow that same pupil says that the stone is white. Who would be able to stand up and say no? Would it not be like the story of the Elephant and the three blind men where the conclusions were all drawn from different angles though the beast remained the same?

Putting children to work together seems to be one of those few things the schools can do about it today. But a pupil of what kind of society is one teaching to work together? Do we expect a pupil to properly understand the meaning of working together in the sense of practical Ujamaa, if he comes from and will return to a home which practices individualism? One might be thought to be biased, but perhaps one is right in saying it is only the children who are in the schools of the Ujamaa communities who will fully understand and benefit from the teaching of the practice of Ujamaa and at the same time be able to show the nation in the near future what are the possibilities as well as the limits of the new policy of education.

No kind of Ujamaa education is necessarily effective if the pupil is going to return to a non-Ujamaa community. But we can say that having the whole school own and work the same shamba and projects will definitely contribute to the education of the children. It introduces the children to the first steps of the meaning of working together and it is worthwhile even if only a few would put the ideas into practice at some time in their lives. It should be remembered that putting the children to work together and to own the same shamba or project has to have an aim which must be first clearly understood by the children; otherwise we will have nothing more than a demonstration of work done together by children.

Having the children working in different groups, each group working independently does not foster the meaning of working together in the Ujamaa sense and in Education for Self-Reliance it is said that each school should be a community of people working together for their own benefit. If we have these separate groups the school does not become a real community. We might succeed in stirring up competition between the groups and thus have more work done, but the overall result would not be a positive one. Also this competition might in future result in man-to-man competition which is not the ethic of a country out to build an Ujamaa Society. There are for instance some block farms where people are living together but they are just like school children living together in school and split into competitive groups, each struggling on its own for survival and to defeat the other. What should people have in common--it should be a desire of people to live together and have a common thought and work.

The Teaching of Ujamaa and the Practice of Ujamaa

We do know that Ujamaa is a way of life of a people and can be found within that people. The fact that there are no clearly laid down principles which a people may follow if they choose to live the Ujamaa way makes it difficult to orally teach a person and expect a major success. In our case we have one and only one principle which is living together in brotherhood and working together for the benefit of all. When it comes to teaching it we then have to begin to create the teaching material. This material must be based on a true interpretation of the principle as it is through the interpretation of the principle that ways and means will be found of teaching it. No doubt various methods of this teaching will come forward and it will be difficult to choose any one as there will be different expressions of the practice of Ujamaa in different parts of Tanzania as is made clear in Ujamaa Vijijini.

In our school the people concerned have tried to formulate a few methods of teaching this subject which might be split into practical work, lectures, discussions and reading.

1. Practical Work: It is our practice that almost everything done in the school is done in the name of Ujamaa; therefore on our timetable are six successive periods termed "Practical Ujamaa." These periods are basically intended for teaching the children some particular skill, such as spinning, sewing, knitting, weaving, nursing, carpentry, building, farming, etc. It has not up to the present been possible to teach all these skills effectively because there is a lack of the necessary tools and equipment and particularly of the people with the skills to do the teaching. As a result much of the time is spent on farm work. It is not intended that a pupil who learns building work would not participate in farm work. Farm work is the basis of all life and development so that it is good that a builder of tomorrow might find himself sowing seeds. It is also a fact that the society that the pupil will be going to live in is a society of farmers and in order to be a part of that society it is essential for the builder to be also a farmer.

2. Lectures: These are given space on the timetable just like any other subject in the school. For upper primary there are four periods of Ujamaa lectures in a week for each class and in lower primary one period a week for each class.

(a) Upper Primary

(i) Standard V: The teaching here becomes more difficult and much of it is an introduction to politics. We first start with the Twenty Nine basic principles of Ujamaa. (The twenty nine principles have not been included in this article). This is followed by a study of the Tanzanian National Heroes Part A.

(ii) Standard VI: The subject now ranges from the Tanzanian National Heroes Part B to the study of the content and meaning of the Arusha Declaration and its implementation both as it has meaning for the individual and for the Nation.

(iii) Standard VIII: We plan that at this stage much of the time will be devoted to the study of the policy of socialism in Rural Development; fundamental economics of the Viambo and a thorough review of the National Heroes Parts A and B.

(b) Lower Primary: The main object in all the lower primary standards is to help the children accustom themselves to think and work together. The content of the lectures is similar throughout the standards i.e. the teaching and telling of stories, songs, and plays of the revolutionary spirit, and of the idea of good and bad in terms of Ujamaa behaviour.

3. Discussions: These are the pupil's own discussions and they vary from formal to informal. The aim of all these discussions is to help the pupils to work and learn by understanding and without the necessity of being dictated to. Perhaps this is the most educative part of the whole teaching system on this subject as it is this which largely develops the group discipline. We feel this is one of the biggest differences between our school and most others. It is general in schools for the pupils to be "told" and not be given a chance to contribute. Perhaps this is because the teacher has been assumed to be a person in possession of all the answers so that the pupil is always to receive and never to give. As a result the teacher has never learnt to trust his pupil while the pupil has always seen himself as an inferior person before his teacher with nothing to contribute to his own education.

These discussions can be divided into committees, discussion groups and the Ujamaa assembly.

A. The pupils' own Executive Committee: This is on the pupils' side the supreme body, at the head of which sits a democratically elected chairman. The responsibilities of the Executive Committee are as follows:

(i) To take care of the overall welfare of the children. This includes encouraging the sick to attend the dispensary, dealing with minor offences and checking undesirable manners in any pupil; issuing warnings in cases of bad behaviour or suggesting a punishment, such suggestions having to go for approval to the Ujamaa Assembly to sort out any difficulties arising from feeding and to promote the cleanliness of the school and the children's persons.

(ii) To plan the year's work and send the plan to the working committee for execution.

(iii) To ensure that the working committee does its best to carry out the plan.

(iv) To introduce legislation to the Ujamaa Assembly, study rules made by this assembly and check any undesirable rules.

(v) To work hand in hand with the teachers on various matters affecting the children.

(vi) To act as a financial committee by controlling all money gained by the efforts of the children.

The Membership of this Executive Committee is as follows:

(i) The Pupils' Chairman, who is an elected Chairman. He presides over the meetings of both the Executive Committee and the Ujamaa Assembly is the chief spokesman of the children and together with the Manager he may be invited to sit in on some of the staff meetings.

(ii) The Vice Chairman, who is also elected and his work is to assist the Chairman.

(iii) The Secretary, who is also elected. He has to put on record the discussions and important points decided on by the Executive Committee and the Ujamaa Assembly.

(iv) The Treasurer, who is also elected and has the duties of keeping account of all the money gained through the pupils' work and of all expenditure of this money.

(v) The Manager, he is an appointed official being the school captain who is ex-officio the Manager and a member of the Executive Committee. This manager is the chief workman, foreman and work organizer of the activities planned by the executive. He has to be very energetic, of a strong character, intelligent and above all possessing the qualities of leadership. He is an extremely important post, as much as the success or failure of any of the activities depends upon him. He is also the Chairman of the Working Committee.

(vi) The Dresser, he is also an appointed person and is also a member of the working committee. His function on both committees is to help in solving the health problems of the children.

(vii) Besides the above there are six further elected members of the committee bringing the total number to twelve. They may be elected because they have particular duties in the school or because it is felt they are the type of people who can contribute to the general discussion of the committee.

B. The Pupils' Own Working Committee: this working committee is chaired by the Manager and its work is

(i) To execute the decisions of the Executive Committee and the Ujamaa Assembly.

(ii) To be in charge of all practical activities.

(iii) To allocate pupils into groups to work on particular duties and to appoint leaders for these groups. After these appointments and allocations are approved, the working committee may not dismiss any one from his duties or make changes without the consent of the Ujamaa Assembly and the Executive.

(iv) To meet as often as possible to consider all work being done at that time.

(v) To act as a body of work supervisors to check any laziness shown in practical work by any pupil.

(vi) To present an annual report of their activities to the Executive Committee and the Ujamaa Assembly.

Membership of the Working Committee: There is no limit to the membership of this committee as the size depends largely on the amount of work which is being done at a particular time. It could be termed a "Managers Committee" as its members are appointed by the Manager except for four members from the Executive Committee who sit on the Working Committee as ex-officio. These four are the Manager, himself as Chairman, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Secretary and the Treasurer. The Chairman of the Executive Committee is present to advise the Working Committee on the best way to carry out its duties. Other members will generally be people who are in charge of various work groups and at present they are mostly school Junior leaders (prefects). They are people as the following:

(i) The Bwana Shamba: He is the next most energetic workman to the Manager. He is at present in charge of all shamba activities but it is intended that in the future he will be in charge of all farm activities. His chief duties are:

  (a) To supervise all shamba activities.
  (b) To warn any lazy pupils and report on them.
  (c) To know when to plough, sow and what is to be sown on each plot.
  (d) To know when to weed, thin out and be able to report on any signs of crop desease.
  (e) To report on all his duties to the Working Committee.

(ii) The Gardener takes charge of all gardening activities.

(iii) The Storekeeper is in charge of the food store and controls the issuing of the food and cleanliness of the store. He has to report any food shortage and to order new stock.

(iv) The Mess Leader supervises the serving of the food and sees that all eating and cooking utensils are clean and kept in their right places.

(v) The Dresser deals with all health problems and attends the sick in the dispensary.

C. The Ujamaa Assembly: This is a general Assembly where all pupils sit to discuss their own problems. Its Chairman is the pupils' chairman, who is a member of both the Executive and the Working Committee. The duties of this assembly are:

(i) To keep every pupil informed of all that is happening by questioning and criticism and by seeking information.

(ii) To approve, amend or reject suggestions forwarded to it by the Executive Committee.

(iii) To award punishments or issue warnings after consideration of the suggestions forwarded by the Executive Committee.

(iv) To discuss and approve, amend or reject, activity plans submitted by the Executive Committee.

(v) To help the children to maintain a high sense of moral conduct.

(vi) To question the teachers to obtain information.

This is a very important body and when attending its meetings it is possible to feel its power of sense of responsiblility by the nature of the decisions taken. There is a maximum democratic element and the pupils feel very free to express themselves.

D. The Discussion Group: This is a group of selected intelligent children who are put to meet together to discuss any matters of education interest. It is appointed by the School Authority and has twelve members. When they meet, other pupils may be invited but these have no vote. The group regularly invite members of the Association, visitors and teachers to talk with them on any points of interest.

The Role of the Teacher and some Results of this Method

When all these committees and groups are set working one might ask that if they work effectively what is the part played by the teacher. These groups are really teaching aids as are tape recorders, pictures and diagrams, to illustrate particular subjects and they do not replace the teacher. The role of the teacher is not only still there but in fact becomes of much great importance. Giving a child an exercise or a means of solving a mathematical problem is not the end of teaching. The important thing is the working side by side with the pupil which will help him to use that means to solve the problem correctly or at least in a satisfactory manner. In this case it is essential that the teacher should work with the committees, not as a member of them, or by telling them what to do, but by advising them how best to work. It is our experience that pupils from these committees often come to the teachers to question them on things which they are not sure of doing correctly. Here the teacher should be prepared to help, not by giving the right answers, but by giving them the means whereby they might find the right answer. Much depends on the nature of the question and there may be instances where the teacher might feel it worthwhile to give the right answer, but he should always refrain from spoon feeding the children. It is even better sometimes not to give any answer if the question is one which the pupils should know or remember the answer from previous instances--pupils like all human beings are often looking for an easy way of doing things.

In relation to these groups then it is the work of the teacher to be a guiding light, to generally refrain from coarse methods and do work by showing and explaining. Above all, politeness is essential in training children this way; rude treatment would not produce the desired results. This does not mean that the pupils should be treated as the President says "like eggs." Sometimes it is essential to be firm and there must be over everything a feeling of discipline.

Let us take an example from our experience. The children in our school have much freedom for thinking deciding and doing things themselves. With these seemingly powerful organs in the hands of the children it is natural that the nature of the child might lead him to assume too much authority on his side. On one occasion the pupils decided to test their power by not agreeing to do certain things on logical grounds and by ignoring the school authority. This was really a time of testing for the teacher, because there is certainly nothing wrong if the pupils disagree with doing something when they have satisfactory reasons. But ignoring proper authority was something which showed a disdainful attitude and this could not be tolerated. It was accordingly necessary to show that the school authority must be respected and to get over to the children the lesson that in all situations in life there is some authority over us. On the other hand in the case of the work which they did not think should be done, we allowed it to pass knowing definitely that the result would be unpleasant, but believing that through this the children would learn an important lesson for the future. We believe it is important to realise that mistakes are not all that bad. Mistakes are often regrettable but we should not forget that it has so often been seen that learning by mistakes can be part of a very effective learning, although sometimes slow and painful. On occasions therefore, it is important to allow mistakes to happen for the sake of learning.

Reading

We are not here talking of reading for pleasure or of the ordinary class readings. These are specially guided readings for exhortation purposes or for encouraging the correct spirit. These readings may be given before and after the Ujamaa Assembly, before and after any formal gathering of the children or in the mornings before starting lessons--this is part of what we call "Ujamaa Prayer." These readings are mostly selected parts of the speeches and writings of the President. They may also be biblical readings. It may be questioned why religious readings are included here, but the truth is as many who know religious teachings well will agree, that the bible contains in it some excellent teachings for mankind. After all, one can if he wishes show through the teachings of Jesus himself and Mohamed that they were socialists.

Attending Parents' Ujamaa Assemblies and R.D.A. General Meetings

The children are also encouraged to attend communal Ujamaa gatherings with the aim of sharing in the discussions of their parents, at the same time seeing and learning how their elders go about the business of solving their own communal problems. One of the duties of the pupils' Ujamaa Assembly is to choose delegates to attend the R.D.A. General Meetings, often it is the pupils' Chairman and the Manager. They do not attend these general meetings as spokesmen for the children but to observe although they can participate in the discussion if they wish. After returning they are required to report on the meeting to their own Assembly after which they might be questioned and discussion might ensue. This is designed to keep the children informed of all that is happening and is planned for all the villages of the Association.

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SOCIOLOGY PAPERS, MAKERERE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Peter Rigby (Sociology, Makerere University College) reports that the following working papers on rural African themes are available through his department:

R. Apthorpe, "Development Administration in the Cecolonization of Highland Kenya"; B. Brock, "Approaches to the Study of Agricultural Innovators"; Y. Eilam, "Extra-Marital Rights and Absence of Age-Organization Among the Bahima of Ankole, Uganda"; E. Gerken, "Social Change in Rural Areas in Bugosa, Uganda Under the Impact of Urban Centers"; J. Gugler, "Research in East and Central Africa, 1970"; C. Hutton, "The Causes of Labour Migration in Sub Saharan Africa"; M. Jellicoe, "Societies and Voluntary Associations in the Mwanza Area, Tanzania"; T.B. Kabwegyere, "The Growth of a trading Centre in Rural Ankole: Ishaka"; J. Kakooza, "The Role of Clans in the Settlement of Family Problems"; A. Kuper, "Some Remarks on Social Anthropology"; J. Morris, "Implications of the Homestead Cycle Construct for Studying Rural Development"; P.J.A. Rigby, "Pastoralism and Prejudice: Ideology and Rural Development in Eastern Africa"; T. Somerset, "Relationship Networks: A Problem in Research Method in Developing Countries"; A. Southall, "Social Anthropology and East African Development"; C.M. Turnbull, "Problems of Fieldwork Among the Teuso of Northern Karamoja"; J.E. Vincent, "Some Political Implications of Ethnicity in a Lake Kyoga Community, Uganda"; and R. Yeld, "Resettlement in Its Effects on Kiga Patterns of Life."

PRIMARY EDUCATION AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

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In the coming decades African governments will be devoting increasingly larger shares of their resources to transforming the rural sector of their economies. The current phrase "rural transformation" is, perhaps, more than anything else a form of shorthand having a much wider significance than merely the technical modernization of peasant agriculture. It involves in varying degrees for different countries a wide range of governmental functions and services, from the purely technical, advisory function of the agricultural department to the relationship between national government and the different levels of local government. It encompasses community development efforts on the part of governments, adult education, and education within the formal structure of the school. But above, all, rural transformation concerns the art of persuasion--persuading the peasant farmer not only to give up the age-old habits of subsistence farming, but also presuading him to change the very foundation of his society by giving up the adherence to tribal organization which has meant security for him in the past. Rural transformation, then, is as much a transformation of society as it is a transformation of agricultural technique.

However difficult this process may be, African governments are becoming aware that for the sake of continued internal political stability, if for no other reason, the demand for modernization of the rural sector must be met. Two decades and more of community development programs, the increasing emphasis on rural primary education, and the failure to provide an entry into the industrial society for the product of the educational system have meant that the mass of rural Africans are today much better able than ever before to formulate its demand for a fair share of the fruits of independence. No longer is it possible to ignore the demands of the school leavers who have had to return to the farms after their period of exposure to modern education in the primary school.

While the demand for improved living conditions in rural areas rises, it becomes correspondingly clear that neither the African governments nor the foreign "experts," today know enough about the social and economic factors involved in rural transformation to offer more than the most general guidelines for comprehensive rural improvement programs. Discrete experimental programs in agricultural improvement have, of course, been successful in individual countries, but comparatively little can be derived from them of a generalized nature applicable to the problems of rural change in other areas of the continent.

Nowhere is the lack of consensus on the usefulness of the educational system in rural transformation more apparent than in the debate being waged now over a period of years on the introduction of agricultural training at the primary-school level. Most ministries of education in Africa have experimented at one time or another with variations of the primary-school curriculum which included elements of training in agricultural science. For the most part, these experiments have met with, at best, modest success and, at worst, total disaster. No attempt can be made here to list all or even a small number of the combinations which have been attempted, but one or two of particular interest might, perhaps, be briefly noted.

In Tanzania the approach taken recently by government has departed from the basic assumption that the large majority of children at the primary-school level were destined to remain dependent on agriculture for their livelihood and would continue to be members of an agricultural community after they had left school. That knowledge of agriculture which should be imparted by the school, then, was to be essentially basic and have a strongly practical bent. In order to avoid the generational conflict which inevitably arose when the boy returned from school and attempted to apply techniques learned there to traditional methods of agriculture, the school was to become an integral part of community life so that the adults felt that the school was a place where they, as well as their children, could learn. Instead of the school being physically and psychologically separated from the community, attempts have been made to conduct meetings, adult-education classes and other functions in the school building so that adults can become accustomed to the idea that the school is there for their benefit, and not just for the education of their children. It is perhaps too soon to evaluate the success of this approach, but it gives promise of avoiding, at least to some degree, the stress which arises when the adult farmers react strongly against accepting suggestion and advice from school boys in an occupation which the adults feel, quite understandably, that they know best.

A major problem facing the rural primary-school leaver anywhere in Africa is how to maintain the skills of literacy which he has acquired during his years in the school. In many areas little or no reading material may be available to the boy once he has left school, and a youth who can read at the age of thirteen may be virtually illiterate by the age of eighteen. Even in areas where printed materials are to be found, they may be at a level too difficult for him to comprehend with his limited reading knowledge, or they may deal with subject matter in which he has no interest. In western Nigeria an effort has been made to encourage school leavers to continue reading even though engaged in full-time farming, by providing in the school curriculum reading materials of varying degrees of difficulty which deal with the care and cultivation of the cash crops grown in the area. Instead of beginning the study of English with literary texts, the child learns the practical value of reading while at the same time he absorbs some basic technical concepts regarding production of the crop in which he will be most interested. Once he has left school, the department of agriculture supplies him with reading materials which update his knowledge and go into greater detail than what he has studied in the school. While this approach to continued literacy is quite useful, it presupposes a degree of cooperation between the ministries of agriculture and education which is not always to be found. Ultimately it becomes very costly since separate materials must be provided for the major crop areas of the country. This approach also raises objections from the education administrators since it prevents the use of a common curriculum at the primary-school level for the country as a whole. Some have argued that it lays much too heavy an emphasis on the practical use of reading skills rather than the enjoyment of the skill in itself. The latter objection, however, would seem to have relatively little validity if, as according to the present indications, the student who leaves school is unable to read anything at all after a few years.

Among the most interesting of the experiments in agricultural education has been the new agricultural school established in recent years in Upper Volta. Despite the fact that the Voltaic government is devoting more than 25 per cent of its annual budget to education, the country has suffered from one of the lowest rates of scholarization in West Africa. No more than eight per cent of the estimated 88,000 children of primary school age have been able to attend school, and substantial numbers of these were forced to drop out before receiving their primary-school certificates. As an experimental counter-measure, a small number of schools have been established designed to teach agriculture almost exclusively. Students for these schools are selected from a group of fourteen to seventeen year-olds who have never previously been exposed to formal schooling. A single group attends the school for a period of three years (that is, a new class enters only every third year). The curriculum of the school consists entirely of practical work in agriculture under the direction of trained teachers and moniteurs, and the only classroom instruction being given is in the French language. The training in agriculture concentrates on the cultivation of crops with which the students are familiar in their own villages and on the introduction of new crops suitable for the area.

From the point of view of intensive practical training, the program of the agricultural schools appears, at least on the surface, to have much to recommend it, assuming that the students are prepared to return to subsistence farming at the end of their training period. The government expected that the agricultural schools would have a multiplier effect in that the students would be able to pass on to their own villages the new techniques learned in the schools.

It was discovered, however, that when the students returned to their villages they were either unable to apply the lessons they had learned since they lacked their own land to cultivate or their advice and suggestions were rejected by the older farmers, who were unprepared to accept teaching from young upstarts who had been away from the village for three years at school. In their frustration, graduates of the school drifted into the towns looking for employment or simply abandoned all that they had learned in the school and reverted to traditional farming methods. As a means of overcoming this wastage, government was pursuaded, largely at the instigation of Peace Corps volunteers in the area, to provide land on which a group of agricultural-school students could establish a cooperative farming community using the lessons learned at the school. The success of this venture in crop returns was so striking that elders from the surrounding villages have been pursuaded to visit the boys' farms to see for themselves what can be accomplished with the newer techniques. And hopefully a beginning has been made in breaking down their resistance to modernizing their farming methods.

An experiment similar to that in Upper Volta is being tried in Dahomey with the "4D" Clubs. Some twenty of these groups, modeled on the American 4H Clubs, are currently in operation. They have proved so popular that an additional 45 are in the planning stages. The youths who belong to the clubs are instructed in agricultural methods by moniteurs of the Ministry of Agriculture, which also supplied (with the aid of outside donors) tools and fertilizers. The students supply seed and the village donates the land. It is anticipated that students will stay two to three years in the program before joining a cooperative farm or returning to their homes. The reaction of the adults seems thus far very favorable; indeed they have sought to form a "Club des Vieux" to receive the same training. The individual reward for being a member of the club, in addition to training, is a mutual share in the returns from the crops raised after the costs of operation have been met in part.

Teaching agriculture at the primary-school level clearly cannot be considered as an end in itself or in isolation from the broader picture of rural development. Even if qualified teachers are available, only a limited amount of time can be devoted to agriculture as a subject in the primary curriculum. Indeed, one of the major objections to introducing agriculture as a subject is that the curriculum is already replete with subjects required for fundamental literacy skills. If some basic concepts of proper agricultural techniques can be instilled at the primary level, some way must be found to maintain interest in the subject on the part of the school leaver. This might be accomplished through the use of incentives, such as assistance to the young farmer in the acquisition of land or the gift of a blood cow by the government. Ultimately, however, successful teaching about agriculture comes down to the question of whether or not a good living can be made on the land. No amount of teaching of agricultural skills either in or outside the school will prove of real value to the young farmer unless it can be demonstrated conclusively that he can make a better living in agriculture than his father did. And to demonstrate this requires more than merely popularizing better agricultural methods. Agricultural education at any level is only as good as the governments' capability to create interest in the structure, to organize marketing of the farmers' products, and to provide those amenities and incentives which will make rural life as attractive as that in the city.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS FROM OHIO UNIVERSITY'S CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

The Center for International Studies at Ohio University has recently begun publishing a series of papers focusing on Africa and dealing with a broad variety of subjects. The first four publications in the Africa Series include "The New English of the Onitsha Chapbooks" by Harold Reeves Collins (English, Kent State University); "Directions in Ghanaian Linguistics" by Paul F.A. Kotey (Linguistics, University of Wisconsin); "Defining National Purpose in Lesotho" by Richard F. Weisfelder (Harvard University; Foreign Area Fellow in Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa); and "Recent Agricultural Change East of Mount Kenya" by Frank E. Bernard (Geography, Ohio University). Bernard's examination of Meruland is especially pertinent to the study of rural Africa. In his paper he purposes "to explore certain spatial dimensions of agricultural change in the matrix of Meru's mountain slope setting and colonial legacy....to describe the effects of these changes upon Meru life and landscape....and to suggest a number of implications which these changes seem to have for agriculture east of Mount Kenya and for other African regions." He concludes that "African economic and social considerations such as population growth rates, decreasing amounts of land, increasing needs for social services and rising consumer demands all emphasize the fact that well thought-out, comprehensive agricultural development plans are needed." For further information on the Africa Series, write The Publications Secretary, Center for International Studies, 98 University Terrace, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701.

THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

David Zarembka
Principal, Mua Hills Community School

In Africa most secondary schools are in urban areas or just outside the boundaries of towns. Many are boarding schools that take the students from the "unsatisfactory conditions of the home environment." Secondary schools thus tend to be ivory towers, overcapitalized edifices of modern civilization. Their connections with the rural areas are minimal. Their inputs are rural youths and their outputs are city clerks.

A school cannot be divorced from its community. The Mua Hills Community School near Machakos, Kenya, was founded to educate rural youths. Consequently, it is situated in the countryside; our students are educated in rural skills and knowledge in addition to receiving sound academic training. And, more important, our school is not closed off from the community. It is responsible for helping in the development of the surrounding area as well as educating the student body.

Compared with the local populations, schools have qualified personnel with adequate financial resources. Consequently, they can experiment, guide, direct, and initiate development in the surrounding area. Although the Mua Hills Community School is less than a year old, we have already made some attempts at rural development. Even before the school officially opened, it sponsored a Maendeleo ya Wanawake (Women's Development Group). One of the teachers and a local woman with some qualifications are the leaders of the group. The women learn cooking, sewing, and other domestic subjects. They have been addressed by representatives of the Family Planning Clinic and a commercial soap firm. Likewise, shortly after the school opened, we started adult education classes three days a week. Again one of the teachers was the organizer, and mature students act as teachers for the adults. And four months after the school opened, the School Committee decided to establish a nursery school. A local woman with training in nursery-school teaching supervises about thirty children.

Schools are very expensive, particularly school buildings. Therefore, they should be put to their maximum use. At the Mua Hills Community School all buildings are open for use by the public whenever necessary. For example, classrooms are generally unoccupied on Sundays. When one of the local churches asked if it could conduct its Sunday school in a classroom, we readily agreed. The teachers come from our student body, and after the Sunday school a church service is held for both the students and the local people who wish to attend.

In rural areas agriculture, as the predominant occupation, is taught to the student body. But if the schools are to significantly affect the surrounding areas, they must concern themselves with agricultural improvements. Our school agricultural classes planted peas as a possible cash crop. When the crop was being harvested, we invited local farmers during a field day to look at the field and learn how to care properly for the peas. As a result, the local extension officers are now promoting peas as an alternate cash crop.

In theory, rural secondary schools should be doing simple experiments, emphasizing the profitability of the crops, and using techniques that any farmer could use. When a crop proves successful, the schools should have farmers' days and do some extension work to assist the farmers in adopting the profitable practices. And if farmers face particular problems, they should bring them to the schools where teachers and students can try to solve them. In short, the schools should be locally oriented research stations with extension work to improve the agricultural practices in their immediate areas. As an example of this approach, the Mua Hills Community School will probably sponsor a poultry development society for certain interested farmers in the vicinity.

When the school acquires the necessary 5000 shs. (approximately $700) to build a proper library, we plan to open it to the public. There are very few libraries in underdeveloped nations, and unfortunately schools that do have such facilities usually close them to the general public, who are then cut off from most books and materials.

In summary, the underlying foundation of the Mua Hills Community School is that, by its financial resources, its academic qualifications, and its imagination in looking to the future, the school will be able to guide, help, and spearhead development of the surrounding area. Ours is an exciting experiment in secondary education, and only time will disclose how successful it will be.

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NEW PROGRAMS AT WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Ronald W. Davis, Chairman of the African Studies Program at Western Michigan University, writes that several new programs focusing on Africa will begin in 1970-71. One of these is an undergraduate curriculum which structures the junior and senior years into a bloc program consisting of a traditional major in anthropology, geography, history, political science, or sociology; a large bloc of African Studies courses from many disciplines; and training in languages. The program is designed to prepare future graduate students or professionsl persons in positions dealing with Africa. In addition, a new program leading to a degree of Specialist in Arts will be initiated in 1970 for students who wish to combine a traditional M.A. degree with a heavy concentration in African Studies; this is designed mainly for the preparation of community college teachers.

THE VILLAGE POLYTECHNIC IN KENYA

Hayden A. Duggan

The idea of the Village Polytechnic,[1] a low-cost training center for unemployed school leavers, has its roots in the social problems of developing countries and has been tried in various forms before. But a sense of urgency is finally characterizing the efforts to get such schemes out of the planning stage since the migration of rural youth to already strained urban areas creates an increasingly acute situation. Considerable attention was focused on the problems of unemployment and rural development at an international conference held at Kericho in 1966, which endorsed the Village Polytechnic concept, calling for a massive effort in the rural areas (Sheffiel 1967).

Since Kericho, the Kenya government has become more interested in the potential of local training centers to help stem the migration to the cities. But while it is listening to church groups, visiting centers, and even considering helping to spread the Village Polytechnic more effectively, there is little evidence that it has really understood what the V-P implies about the total Kenya scene--in short, conversion of the much bandied slogan Harambee ("Let's all pull together") into reality.

President Kenyatta has called for rural people to work together, to be self-sufficient. Particularly in the fertile Kikuyu land around the slopes of Mt. Kenya, his plea was answered by many community-built and run schools. But such appeals for the people to take the initiative and avoid relying on the government have not been accompanied by a similar shift of values within the government itself. Peasant farmers, in fact, need much government help and are willing to accept the concept of self-help and maximum utilization of their own resources--provided they are not hearin daily of government ministers hoarding land, driving by in new Mercedes, and prosperin in urban corporations where so much money and power are centralized.

But this is the impression they are getting, and government exhortations to rural people to work harder and stay in their villages are received with an increasing cynicism. Thus, a situation hardly unique to Kenya develops: encouraged by the government and hard economic realities to rely on themselves to get ahead and seeing the example of how some government officials look out for themselves, people become more concerned about individual advancement than the welfare of the community. What is needed is an entire reorientation of priorities so that the welfare of the community is also that of the individual, and this can only be accomplished through practical programs and genuine commitment.

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[1] The term "Village Polytechnic" was first used in a joint report of the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCK) and Christian Churches Education Association (CCEA) on the school-leaver problem, 1965.

The Village Polytechnic is one such practical program. There are no miraculous solutions; if the V-P idea does take hold as a means to learn how to serve as well as be self-sufficient, it will be a good beginning. However, until the government, particularly through its community development activities, demonstrates to the people its primary concern for their development and its dedication to back pledges to peasant farmers, calls for sacrifice and hard work have a hollow ring.

PLANNING

Out of the Kericho Conference and a report by the National Christian Council of Kenya grew the idea of the Village Polytechnic. The report After School, What? was used as a springboard by the General Secretary of the NCCK John Kamau to launch an enthusiastic drive to start a number of V-P's throughout Kenya. After speaking with several people already involved in this and visiting Starehe Boys Centre and Limuru Boys Centre to get further ideas on vocational training, I was sent to a community development center on the Mwea Plains near Embu to start a Village Polytechnic.

Our only guidelines were the above reports and the belief that the center should be low in cost, staffed by Kenyans, and oriented towards service to the community. We also knew that the Church World Service in the United States was interested in the project and, if they thought it was sound, would probably fund the first year's budget. Thus, our initial decision was to thoroughly plan and set up the V-P before recruiting a single student. Though a great deal of work must be done by the warden and staff before students arrive, we underestimated the resources of both students and the peasant farmers in helping us overcome some of the difficulties and tried to plan the V-P entirely on our own. Our idea was to put the scheme on paper, then present it to the local chief and sub-chiefs. Yet all along we should have been consulting with them and the farmers as to the kind of center the community needed.

The most important aspect of V-P planning is flexibility. No one Village Polytechnic is the same as another. The courses given should be in crafts that the local economy can support. And it is essential that several months elapse before opening a center in order for the staff to become familiar with the area and its needs. In the Mwea Plains the people grow rice. Each of two thousand tenants, most of them former squatters, farm several acres of rice. Twice a year they receive cash for their rice, as well as a certain amount of rice to keep. Thus, while planning our V-P, we were most aware of two facts about the area: the people had cash (although only at specified times) and the food situation was poor. Ironically, since the rice scheme had started, almost all the land was used for rice; and many traditional crops, grown on the slopes of Mt. Kenya twenty miles away, could not be grown in Mwea.

Further investigation showed that the rice scheme required almost 180 new houses a year for incoming tenants and that the local health officials had found a high level of malnutrition and even instances of Kwashiorkor among the children, inexcusable for a government-run scheme so close to fertile land and only four hours from Nairobi.

We began, therefore, to plan our curriculum. Obviously the local economy could support building construction. The government was hiring labor from as far away as Nairobi, and there was no reason why local unemployed students could not also learn the trade. The warden, a Kikuyu from the area, held interviews and selected a local carpenter well known for his ability to get along with young people. Then he wisely hired an Abaluya from Western Province who had expert knowledge of building, possessed a grade-one certificate, and proved a valuable addition to the heavily Kikuyu center. The Danish Volunteer Service agreed to supply a volunteer teacher of carpentry once we had the program underway.

Meanwhile, the warden and I started designing a poultry scheme, surmising that eggs and meat would go a long way towards improving the artificial situation in Mwea, where one-crop farming had imposed rice on a people accustomed to growing a plentiful supply of maize, yams, and other traditional foods. Unfortunately, we did not know the first thing about raising large numbers of chickens. So we had to learn. After a month and a half we had at least a presentable course and textbooks to provide a basic introduction to modern poultry keeping, which even on the relatively small scale anticipated by us[1] proved complicated. A government veterinary training program, a nearby farm for delinquent teenagers, and a Danish poultry farmer helped us establish the guidelines for the systems we would use, the preventive injections we would need for our area, and the marketing approach with the maximum benefit to the community. The poultry scheme purposed to put students through an intensive course, including practical training, in all aspects of poultry care from biology and feeding to constructing the poultry houses. Those who successfully completed the ten-week course would be eligible for loans with which to start their own poultry farms. Repayment would be spread over several years, but there were stringent conditions on the loans: eggs were to be marketed in the local area only and at standard fixed prices; medicine and feeding schedules were to be rigidly observed. (Despite the best care, another poultry scheme had lost three thousand birds recently from an epidemic; ours was the kind of effort which could not sustain the loss of fifty.)

Several months after we had begun to plan, the warden and I found ourselves with a poultry course,[2] a building construction course staffed by two Kenyans, and a carpentry course offered by the Danish volunteer. We were now ready to meet with the chief and sub-chiefs, to iron out objections, and to get the program rolling as soon as possible.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

In Mwea the chief, sub-chiefs, and District Officer meet weekly to discuss all aspects of the area from farmers' problems to crop failure to crime. They are an extraordinary group who know the Mwea Plains with the precision of a computer and the wisdom of a philosopher. It was here that we recognized some of our mistakes. We had tried to take on everything ourselves; and the details of tools, textbooks, student housing, food, and regulations had overwhelmed us. How much easier and more efficient it would have been had we consulted with the community from the beginning.

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[1] We anticipated 2000 eggs a month from our farms. At one point, pursuing our policy of gently persuading and petitioning various corporations for free food, textbooks, and medicine (with mixed results), we were offered the smallest American incubator available to us: a 10,000 unit machine.

[2] For those interested in chicken-keeping, the breed used was a cross between Rhode Island Red and White Leghorn; the system, deep-litter; and the medicine, preventative against Fowl Pox, Newcastle Disease, and Fowl Typhoid.

At first we were a bit annoyed with the hesitant, polite probing of the sub-chiefs. Would the boys be wearing uniforms? No, we were trying to get away from the feeling of a formal vocational training center. Silence. Someone remarked that unless the boys wore uniforms they would be stopped by the police and asked to show proof of tax payment (many students would be over eighteen), whereas in uniform they would be assumed students. Under whose auspices was the V-P to be run? The NCCK, we answered. This was fortunate, we were informed, because otherwise the local education officer or health officials would be around to see if our facilities met the requirements of secondary schools, which ours didn't. Were there any programs for women? Not at present, we replied, suddenly aware of a major omission from our planning. Why not start a tailoring and sewing course, beginning with uniforms the school would need? The sub-chief also happened to know that Singer Sewing Machine had some extra old machines in a nearby town....

The chief, who had been translating and spoke excellent English, simply asked what the purpose of the program was. Other than a broad summary of the Protestant ethic applied to school leavers, we had not worked out many basic question. We were caught off-guard by the desire of the chief (an elected official in Mwea) and the sub-chiefs to know exactly what our long-term goal was. This was not the first such scheme they had seen. Other than training five or six more poultry farmers and perhaps twenty building fundis, how were we helping the people? They were concerned with the value gap, the need for a sense of community; what would we do to encourage boys not to pack up and work for Nairobi construction firms or leave for the more fertile hills to set up their own businesses? As I looked at the men who were the key to the project--for they were to recruit students in the villages for us--and the pile of course outlines, mimeographed budgets, and application forms we had handed out, I was reminded of the scene in the film Black Orpheus, when the hero runs into a government building looking for help and an employee stares at him strangely and answers, Why, there's nothing but papers in here--floors and floors of papers.

When we had arrived with our carefully laid plans, what better typified government bureaucracy and Western-style organization with the often common and arrogant assumption that little can be learned about development from peasant farmers? Like all other projects that had been foisted on them from above, ours had never called for their consultation until it came to details. Nor had we considered the issues in their correct priorities. All Village Polytechnics should give a major planning role to the community from the beginning if only because it results in a better project.

After that day we met weekly with the sub-chiefs, and they attended our meetings at the center. Once they spread the word, we were heavily oversubscribed with applications at Mucii Wa Urata (Home of Friendship). We set up parents' meetings and I was given an old motorcycle, funded by Church World Service, with which to visit the six villages where we hoped to set up poultry. More important, we tried to build into the scheme an answer to the chief's question: just what were we doing this for anyway?

We designed a follow-up program encouraging the formation of a cooperative to sell all its eggs, priced by weight, in Mwea instead of the high-priced Nairobi market and securing contracts with three secondary boarding schools in the area. Gradually it became clear that poultry could go over well in Mwea. Formerly chickens were only eaten on important occasions, partly because of their price and scarcity and partly because local ones died easily.

We began to get help from every source we could find. Actually the tenants were invaluable here. The man whose brother was a veterinary scout: three sets of injections every six months. The truck driver who hauled timber for a big sawmill: piles of wood shavings for the deep-litter houses. The rice scheme itself: a wagonload of extra chicken wire that had been used as fencing plus a promise to finance the roof of our planned workshop.

In building construction the risk of losing the students to Nairobi was much greater, especially during the period of Asian exodus due to new trade regulations. After discussing this with the parents and, again, the sub-chiefs, we decided that merely setting a tone of community service during the training might well be useless since neither Kenya's economy nor her government's social philosophy in reality encouraged anything but the get-ahead, best-your-neighbor approach. People were quite candid about this, and the discussions inevitably revealed sharp conflicts between those tenants who adopted that outlook and those who were against it. Ironically, the best church-goers (we were, after all, an NCCK center) were often the most zealous exploiters. The scheme that emerged, therefore, offered practical incentive to stay in one's village and contribute to its development: a loan on a set of tools and joint contracts with other students for rice-scheme buildings.

We sent the entire plan off to Church World Service with a budget detailed to the last nail, and they approved it. We were finally ready for the students.

THE VILLAGE POLYTECHNIC AND THE STUDENTS

Our students were a mixed group--tribally, age-wise, and in their attitudes. The most enthusiastic were the toughest. They were older and had more experience. They were school leavers who had already been to Nairobi and back. They knew there were no jobs there, and the taste of failure was bitter and fresh in their mouths from having left their family and village only to return defeated. They wanted to work and they wanted to learn. Curiously they were also the most idealistic. Far from being convinced that they would have to fight to get ahead of everyone else, usually it was the older boys who looked earnestly to Tanzania and who had been most affected by what they knew of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and socialism. They showed great concern for the success of the scheme and its application in Mwea and took it as a matter of pride that Mucii Wa Urata would be a first-class center. Having been unemployed for several years, however, they expected high standards at the center and were critical of its weak points.

It was different for the younger students. The building construction work was hard--hard to learn and hard to do under the hot sun. But apart from that they had a different attitude. It didn't bother them if sixty thousand students graduated from primary school and only fourteen thousand places existed in secondary schools. The push of economic necessity and the pull of bright lights made the city the most desirable place to go, and the first thing they wanted to do was learn typing, bookkeeping, or accounting and find a job in Nairobi. They resent the older boys, some of whom had been as far as the coast and Mombasa, warning them that there were no jobs in Nairobi. They also resented the physical labor more than the older boys because they had been infected with the old disease of student elitism. Besides, had they left their fathers' shambas to come and do this?

Yes, they had, and in eagerness to make this absolutely clear and weed out students who couldn't succeed, the building construction instructors often lapsed into another colonial hangover: rigidity. Merely because we were not a secondary school, this hardly implied that the increasing tendency towards a student voice and innovation in structures was suspended. The students could put up with the worst facilities, which we had: they slept on the floor, there were two lamps for eighteen of them, and they had to build their own latrines and cook their own food. But surmounting all this, when we ignored their genuine complaints and criticisms, the situation deteriorated and morale dropped.

Thus, to keep the lines of communication open, we gave the boys much more responsibility and instituted regular student-faculty meetings. The warden agreed to open staff meetings to student respresentatives. This did not prove to be the answer, however, though it should be used by all V-P's to create an atmosphere of mutual trust instead of more discipline and frustration. What bothered the students was that they felt we were using them in order to get buildings constructed. Part of the training had naturally consisted of putting up buildings in the community, but apparently this had not been accompanied by much instruction and the boys felt like unpaid laborers. This is a hazard in such V-P courses. The students are working against a deadline--the date for grade I, II, and III trade examinations given by the government at specified times--and they are under pressure to learn. From then on the instructors, who were also new to teaching what had been their trade, relied less on discipline to force the students to obey and more on the strength and patience of their teaching.

Aware that we had made the same mistakes all over again with our students that we made with the community during planning, we listened to them and found that they demanded more instruction and, if anything, more tests to prepare them better. They demanded night classes though they had worked all day, and even after these there was always a group who wanted tutoring later into the evening. We also began to make furniture for people in the community, which went a long way towards establishing prestige for the center as well as affording a local, low-price shop when before people had journeyed twenty miles to buy chairs, beds, and tables.

Another thing the boys complained about was coeducation, or rather the lack of it. They were confined to the center all week and on weekends went home. They contracted to build a girls' school; why couldn't we move the school here until the building was finished? Needless to say, this was a touchy subject at an Anglican center, but we did it and it certainly improved the students' attitudes, as well as their performance: the workshop was located next to the girls' dorms, and our students worked furiously hammering and sawing later than ever before. On Tuesdays and Thursdays there were debates and public speaking, where the older students showed their awareness of political problems and their distaste for Kenya as it was.

FOLLOW-UP AND PROBLEMS

The first group of poultry students graduated in March 1968. By June there were four poultry farms in Mwea, each serving a different set of villages, and another under construction. The students had longer periods of practical training than expected; similarly the classroom work, modeled after a veterinary course, was longer than expected. But the important point was the cooperation all the center's students showed in the venture. To be eligible for a loan, each of the students had to work on the others' houses, yet they continued to help each other long after they received their loans and stayed a close group. (Of the original eight, only five graduated.) The cooperative is now producing almost two thousand eggs a month. Since there are two thousand families in the rice scheme, poultry has only just begun to make a dent in Mwea.

The students in building construction virtually planned and built the first two houses by themselves, andfrom then on the community helped. Again, we constantly reminded ourselves to let the community do as much as possible because they were better at it. We would bring all the supplies to a site as cheaply as possible, only to find that local farmers threw up their hands in despair: if only you had asked us! We would spend an entire morning measuring out a site as carefully and accurately as we could, only to find the next day that the farmer, who spoke only Kikuyu, had redone the job better and with more precision. We would attempt to deliver a load of six week-old pullets after driving well into the night from Nairobi, only to get stuck trying to cross the river while the whole village, which had to arise at four in the morning to go to the rice fields, poured out to pull us out of the mud.

This is the value of the Village Polytechnic. Since it is perpetually on a shoestring, it relies on the strength of the people and its own ties with them to succeed. One of the greatest dangers, though, is that it will develop too fast and asprie to be a professional vocational training center. Certainly there is nothing wrong with a professional approach; as we grew larger, we were forced to hire a secretary to keep track of loans, payments, and correspondence. Eventually when it came time to audit the books, the staff acquired an accountant. When later in the year Church World Service sent us two small tractors with implements, another dimension to the work was added, with driver training and plowing contracts, more forms and reports to keep track of, and our share of mishaps. Gradually the center began to spread itself too thin. Fortunately the poultry scheme, under the supervision of a former student, became self-sufficient fairly quickly. The carpentry and construction boys had advanced to a point where they were getting more contracts than they could handle, and transportation of students and materials to sites also became a problem. Soon we were in the market for a long wheel-base Land Rover.

When expansion occurs more rapidly than it can be well planned for, staff members tend to spread themselves in all directions to cover up the holes. Everyone becomes overworked and irritable, people start sniping at each other in staff meetings, and little cliques develop. Often efforts are duplicated and efficiency drops. Enthusiasm is not enough to allow a man to do three or four jobs well at once. We reached this stage and mishaps began to plague the center. A tractor went into the irrigation canal; a man who had no training was working under the supervision of the warden, who had less. The driver jumped off but the tractor was ruined. A fire occurred in the new workshop the day the boys finished roofing it; it was totally destroyed. The new Land Rover, driven by a volunteer unfamiliar with it, flipped over and sent him through the windshield. Thus, in a space of six months, some growth, some giant steps backwards: one demolished tractor, a wrecked Land Rover, an injured volunteer, and a workshop destroyed through carelessness.

At this point everyone usually turns on the warden, often not without justification. Expansion changes the informal character of the center, and people grow out of touch with each other. Staff don't get along as well, feeling the increased burden and aware that they are far behind. Neither the staff nor the warden maintain the contacts with the community, which have been carefully built up so that the farmers feel the Village Polytechnic belongs to them. And expansion usually raise both the expectations of the warden and his temper. Without realizing it, he asks more of his staff than they can give and cannot understand when he doesn't get it.

This is a crucial stage; it accounts in part for the high turnover among the staff at such places, the warden not excluded. Many vocational training centers never get out of this dilemma, and internal squabbles and personality conflicts paralyze the larger effort and obscure the good work which has been done. In our case, the community intervened and steered us back to normalcy. The parents met and decided to finance half of a new workshop if the rice scheme would finance the other half, which it did. We accumulated more staff as we Africanized positions of volunteers whose specific skills had been used in the beginning. In general, the contacts with local sub-chiefs and parents built up during the early stages proved most valuable when we were floundering. By then the community accepted the Village Polytechnic and felt responsible for it.

CONCLUSION

Each Village Polytechnic is different, but certain principles should be followed by all. The character and spirit of a V-P should always be closely intertwined with the community, perhaps especially during the planning stage. The center should concentrate on courses which the local economy can support. Because of this, the V-P idea is highly flexible and adapts itself to many areas; just outside the cities mechanics might be most emphasized, whereas in distant bush areas veterinary skills and farming techniques become most important. Finally, although the foreign volunteer may be used as a catalyst, his purpose should be to work himself out of a job as quickly as possible by training a local person in the skill he possesses. The V-P does not aim at training boys to be grade-one carpenters and build office towers in Nairobi, nor does it aspire to create Ford Foundation-style complexes in rural communities. Its primary goal is to give unemployed school leavers a sense of purpose and a role in their community, as well as the satisfaction of having a skill which will support them long after all the accounting and secretarial positions are filled.

Naturally there must be standards at the V-P; students should not be given obsolete training as has so often been the case. Usually we aimed for the middle-level or lower-level government classification. We hired staff who possessed the grade-one certificate in the field and told the boys that if they wanted to stay on for advanced training they could. Most opted for getting out into the community and practicing what they had learned.

If the tone of the V-P is in sympathy with that of the community, it will make the most of what is locally available and do without fancy equipment, which it probably could not maintain anyway. In such a center the fees can be kept very low as well, eliminating a major reason for dropping out of such courses. Without running at a loss, we held our fees below 60shs. ($9.00) per term, while the secondary school nearby charged three times that.

Vocational training has a bad name in East Africa, particularly in Kenya. Often while settlers and church officials in colonial times encouraged Africans to learn a practical trade because education was the private preserve of a few. The pioneer efforts of such pre-independence groups as the Kikuyu Central Association and Luo organizations to build their own schools (often closed during the Mau-Mau emergency by the colonial government) were the groundwork for the flurry of school building on the Harambee basis following Uhuru. But there were hopelessly few jobs to support students who got as far as secondary-school education, and somehow such schools did not always fulfill their function of serving the community. Schools can be built by the community, but they also have an obligation to put something back into it. This is where primary and secondary school education is failing in Kenya, and it is this gap which the Village Polytechnic attempts to fill.

EPILOGUE

Mucii Wa Urata is now one of many V-P projects in Kenya though at the time the author was there it was one of the first in operation. It continues to flourish; Volunteer Teachers for Africa, with the sponsorship of Church World Service, has supplied three volunteers to the center. All of their schemes--poultry, milking goats, and sewing--have been taken over by local Kenyans.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN EDUCATION

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AFRICANA BOOK CATALOGUE

International University Booksellers' Africana Center has come out with its fourth *Africana Catalog*, which includes 765 titles of books published or about to be published in the period summer through fall 1969. Commencing with its next issue, the catalogue will appear under the name *Africana Library Journal* and will include some new features: a series of retrospective bibliographies on selected topics, bibliographic essays, occasional biographical feature articles, and expanded coverage of out-of-the-way and peripheral material published by research institutions and study centers. Most notable as a new service is the immediate availability of more than eighty per cent of the listed titles, permitting orders to be filled in a matter of days. Subscriptions to the *Africana Library Journal* may be purchased; however, IUB customers receive it on a complimentary basis. Address inquiries to International University Booksellers, Inc., Africana Center, 101 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10003.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN AFRICA

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Agricultural education remains a controversial issue in Africa. Since the beginnings of formal education in Africa, the necessity for agricultural education has been reiterated in commission reports (starting with the Privy Council in 1847), in mission writings, and by educators. Critics of all sorts have been quick to recognize that the wealth of Africa--past, present, and future--is based on agriculture and then to relate "progress" or rural development to agricultural improvement. This logic has led to a condemnation of present educational practices as too "bookish" and unrelated to the needs of the people, with the consequent facile recommendation that agriculture must be introduced, taught, and improved upon through the schools. The Jones Reports, or Phelps-Stokes Commissions (1922 and 1924), are landmark documents that reemphasize the need for "adapted" education. Education may be adapted in a number of ways: in content, or what is today referred to as "Africanization"; in methods; and in intent (to keep Kofi on the farm). While official colonial educational policy emphasized adaptation, its successful implementation was never uniform. There was some resistance to adaptation and agricultural education as attempts to provide inferior forms of schooling which would not lead to change, modernization, and upward mobility (Read, Foster). The relationship between education and agricultural development has never been fully documented (though a start has been made by Evans, Ray, and Blaug). It is now generally recognized that in many areas economic changes, such as the introduction of peasant-based cash crop farming, preceded the widespread expansion of primary education, indicating that agricultural development took place in the absence of formal Western education.

Until the mid-1950's educational policy continued to favor the pursuit of agricultural education through the primary and middle schools. So few pupils attended secondary schools then that the possibility of an agricultural bias (or as part of a comprehensive approach) has only become an issue since the mid-1960's (though there were post-primary farm schools earlier). Internal self-government, independence, and a rapid expansion of primary facilities in the past decade (numerical expansion, but often not as great when population growth is considered) have been accompanied by a swing away from the inclusion of agricultural education in the primary syllabus towards "general education" and "rural science." School garden plots--often on poor land, inefficient, where students were sent to dig as a punishment or exploited for their labor value or where the headmaster or the teachers reaped the profits--tended to be abandoned. There remains a shortage of qualified teachers also trained in agriculture. Even where agricultural education could have been considered effective, it was questionable how much of what the young pupil learned was eventually transferable to the "farm."

Colonial policy on agricultural education did not go unchallenged. W.E.B. DuBois noted that it was better to educate a carpenter to be a man than to educate a man to be a carpenter. Murray, Nkrumah, Azikwe and others saw the contradiction between "hand and eye training" and the need to achieve quality advanced education in order to further political, social and economic goals. Some of the shortcomings of the Jones Reports have been treated by Shields.

Up until the 1960's educators and others tended to look within the educational system for the answers to the failures in agricultural education. The many educational commissions nearly all contain a section on agricultural education. Then some observers began to explore for cause and effect within the wider social system. (Margaret Read was one to complain in the 1950's about the repetition of ineffective ideas on rural education). As with many new ideas, they appeared separately and simultaneously, first in 1962 (Foster's review of Parker, Evans through a speech in 1956, and Callaway on school leavers), while at the same time Balogh began making his eloquent pleas for a renewal of a rural bias to primary education. The opposing views are best contained in Foster and Balogh and have been reprinted together in Hanson and Brembeck. Balogh defends himself from criticism in the Centennial Review. Other examples include the exchange between Roland and Weeks in the briefly lived JENA.

There is agreement that formal education may have a positive impact on agricultural development (Blaug, Ray), though division exists on whether quantity or quality has a higher priority. There is no consensus on formal education as a means of social change when the changes desired are contrary to the aspirations of pupils and parents, such as the attempt to inculcate attitudes towards work and rural life where education is viewed as an investment in a lottery for upward mobility with low odds but high stakes. Education as an instrument of social policy cannot be relied on to produce results when the social problems are not caused by education.

Balogh saw clearly that agriculture would for decades to come be critical in African development, that agriculture was a fact of life for a majority of Africans, and that with the expansion of primary education there would be proportionally fewer opportunities for the employment of school leavers outside the rural areas. He looked at schooling and pronounced it misconceived in its bookishness and its focus on educating the few who will attain further education instead of the many who will be pushed out. He recommended that agricultural education and a rural bias be developed in the schools, for here attitudes and behavior might be changed.

The critics of agricultural education in primary schools recognized that what Balogh was suggesting had been spasmodically tried by educators in Africa and had continually failed for over one hundred years. As long as the schools remain the gateway to the emerging economy, no amount of agricultural or rural education can solve the many problems they must face.

> ...the problems of agricultural education are not primarily educational; they are intimately bound up with the solution of economic, technical, and social problems...systems of land tenure, improved land-use, finance and marketing, research and development, traditions and tribal customs, being among them (Castle Commission, Education in Uganda, 1963, p. 34).

These critics of agricultural education then began to analyze the factors that may account for failure in rural education. Foster, in his "Vocational School Fallacy in Developmental Planning" and Education and Social Change in Ghana, devastatingly exposes the mistaken use of curricular change as a solution to social problems. Chaplain notes (in an article that also analyzes why trained agriculture teachers may fail) that in Ghana every year at least 80,000 youths eventually turn to farming and suggests that if the goal is to make farmers better farmers it would be preferable to give short courses to those who are ready to take up farming. Griffiths, who gave many years of his life to an experiment in rural education in the Sudan, more recently has had reservations about the validity of terminal rural education. And Ruthenberg is very concise in pointing out the differing merits of varied levels of agricultural education. He considers as most crucial the training of high-level experts at universities and as most problematic those schools which intend to train actual farmers for small plots of land (the ratio of training costs to future possible tax yields is intolerable). He favors short courses for farmers, rural community workers, and a system of apprenticeship for farmers' sons.

More recently a number of writers (Moris, Hunter, Hanson, and the authors of the Kericho papers edited by Sheffield) have observed that not all efforts at agricultural education have failed. They have attempted to understand what factors might account for differing rates of success and failure. These include the organization and direction of the school; the possibility of taking recognized examinations in agricultural subjects; the opportunities for modern cash crop farming and animal husbandry; the availability of capital, rural credit, reliable extension services and follow-up supervision. A good summary of approaches to rural development and of the role of rural polytechnics is contained in Guy Hunter's The Best of Both Worlds.

Another question, which is critical to the formulation of policy, is what exactly are the attitudes of different levels and types of students toward agriculture (Maxwell, Moris, etc.). This type of inquiry borders very closely upon questions concerning the overall attitudes of primary-school leavers (particularly Callaway, Foster, and Malache). Students tend to have a hierarchy of goals, and when they have failed to attain one, are very realistic in lowering their sights. Whether or not a student is interested in agriculture depends partially on the nature of farming in his area (students will rank modern farming high and subsistence farming low). Where there is a high density of population per square mile, and perhaps a combination of subdivision, poor soils, and low crop yields, a certain proportion of youth look for opportunity elsewhere even if they have never set foot inside a schoolroom; this consideration tends to be neglected even today. Many are the references in the speeches of African politicians laying the blame on education for general social ills (unemployment, urban sprawl, delinquency, and prostitution). A broad survey of agricultural education reveals sharply the limitations of both this approach and prescriptions or panaceas such as "adaptation."

Educational policy, particularly towards rural education, is unique in two widely disparate African nations: the Republic of South Africa and Tanzania. Since 1954 the RSA has been enforcing a system of "Bantu education" on its African populace which is intended to be adapted to the African's "mentality" and is also designed to keep him in the rural areas. If Bantu education is successful, it is not only because of the inferior curriculum to that offered whites but because of an overall terminal approach, with access for Africans to the second and third tiers open to only 25 per cent and 3.1 per cent (1963) of the age group, proportions lower than in many independent African nations.

In 1967 Tanzania embarked on a policy of "education for self-reliance"

(Nyerere). The policies are remarkably similar to those followed by the British throughout the early fifties, with the exception that Tanzanians are now planning, choosing priorities, making choices and that the political framework for the mobilization of the people is an independent Tanzania. Possibly Tanzania will go further than any other African nation towards developing an effective terminal primary education (a worldwide problem) and selecting those who continue their education by new criteria (see Resnick), but the gap between ideology and reality is large. Education alone cannot reconstruct a society.

Further research needs to be done on a variety of fronts: historical studies of agricultural education (as touched on by Foster); case studies of successes and failures; follow-up studies of pupils from different agricultural schools; comparative studies of the efficiency and effectiveness of different approaches; an examination of differing opportunity costs and of non-schooled youth and their place in the unemployment market compared with that of school youth. And we need to know more about the sources of rural leadership and the contribution of formal education to rural social change.

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EAST AFRICAN RESEARCH INFORMATION CENTRE

The East African Research Information Centre became part of the East African Academy last June although the objectives remain the same: "the collection, collation, compilation and dissemination of information on past and current research in the social sciences with special reference to East Africa." The post as EARIC director has also been abolished, but Dr. Angela Molnos has been appointed under technical assistance and assigned as a Ford Foundation project specialist to further develop the Centre this coming year. The Centre's mailing address remains the same at present: East African Academy, Research Information Centre, P.O. Box 30756, Nairobi, Kenya.

Now available is a supplement to the EARIC Information Circular No. 1, "Sources for the Study of East African Cultures and Development." This addendum, entitled "Area, Ethnic, and Subject Indices," will prove a time-saving device to eliminate the inconvenience of searching through more than seven hundred titles arranged only by authors' names. In addition, reprints are available of the first two information circulars. Forthcoming circulars will deal with African Socialism and Development Planning. Publications may be ordered from the East African Academy, address above.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

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AFRICA-APPALACHIA STUDENT EXCHANGE

LeRoy Schultz (Division of Social Work, West Virginia University) has initiated a Social Welfare Student Exchange in which students from Africa and Appalachia will work in each others' countries on social welfare and community development. Information on community development, social welfare programs, educational programs, social change would be of help to him.

NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH

AGRICULTURE

E. R. Watts (Agricultural Extension, Makerere University College) presented a discussion paper "The Development of Viable Innovations in Peasant Farming" at the East African Agricultural Economics Society Conference on Technical Innovation in East African Agriculture held at University College, Nairobi, 1969. In it he discusses various categories of innovations available to East African farmers, the viability of these innovations, stages in their development, and the future responsibility of several groups for promoting innovations. He points out that extension workers frequently complain that the farmers do not follow their advice, and he "attempts to pose the question whether the quality of the advice given is not at least to some extent responsible for the poor rates of innovation."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Maryagnes L. and Graham B. Kerr (Communication, Michigan State University) will publish a comprehensive bibliography on the Ibos in 1970. More than 1200 citations have been recorded, and compilation should be completed at the end of this year. The bibliography will bring together inclusions from previous bibliographies--approximately 700--plus several hundred more citations. At present the Kerrs have found it difficult to keep up with material about the Nigerian-Biafran conflict, but they will include all articles and a selection of newspaper reports regarding the war, in addition to such publications as eastern Nigerian government official reports. Any articles or notifications of pertinent citations will be gratefully received.

COMMUNICATIONS

Graham B. Kerr (Communication, Michigan State University) is preparing a summary of work done with radio for rural development in Africa. This study developed from his experience with Rural Radio Forums in eastern Nigeria prior to World War II. He would like to exchange ideas with others interested in mass communications in Africa. For his thesis Kerr has proposed a study of leadership and communication in village development groups, commonly known as "Village Improvement Unions," of eastern Nigeria. He intends to describe these groups, to investigate the nature of the leadership and the decision-making process in them, and to explore the communication networks within the groups and the frequency of interaction between the members and leaders. This work will be completed in June of 1970.

ECONOMIC CHANGE

John D. Collins (School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University) was recently in Paris doing research on rural socio-political change in Niger. On a Foreign Area Fellowship, he left for Niger in late October to begin fieldwork on a problem tentatively entitled "Cooperatives and Economic Change in Niger."

J. H. Konter (Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leyden, Netherlands) is processing data for his project "Economic Achievement and Achievement Motivation Among the Nyakyusa" (East Africa). He would appreciate receiving information about his specific interest or about the cultural life in general of the Nyakyusa.

Michael Lipton (Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex) has initiated research on "Accelerating Economic Progress in Small Rural Communities: Synthesis and Analysis of Village Studies." He points out that a great deal of data on economic structure and change is available in the form of village studies but that these are "scattered, often unpublished, and of varying methodology and value; consequently they are unused." He hopes to collect and analyze these and eventually produce a series of "pre-investment manuals" to help rural planners. Information leading to the location of unpublished village studies would be of value to him. He also seeks correspondence on the aim and methodology of village studies and details of current work in this field.

Francis G. Snyder (Fellow in African Law, Foreign Area Fellowship Program) is a candidate for Doctorat de Spécialité (3ème Cycle) in African law, Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiqies, Université de Paris. He has completed his library research and will begin fieldwork in Senegal late this year. The study is entitled "Land Law and Economic Development Among the Diola of the Lower Casamance Area of Senegal." Snyder will pursue three lines of inquiry: (1) a study of contemporary land systems of animist, Islamic, and Christian villages, with a view towards attempting (2) to show relationships of religious, economic, and other social factors to changes in the land law since 1900 and (3) to gather material on the resolution of conflicts and settlement of disputes (for a subsequent study of the role of these processes in the changes in land law).

EDUCATION

Lewis Brownstein (Social Studies, State University of New York, New Paltz) has recently received his degree with a dissertation entitled "Mass Education in a Developing Society: The Case of the Kenya Preliminary Examination Candidate."

Bruce T. Grindal (Anthropology, Middlebury College) has completed a dissertation at Indiana University: "Education and Culture Change Among the Sisala of Northern Ghana." In this study he shows that "similar educational experiences produce similar modifications in egocentrically defined relationships, and that over time these changes become cumulative, effecting more far-reaching changes in the institutional arrangements and belief systems of the tribal society."

Fredric J. Mortimore (Director, Institute of International and Area Studies, Western Michigan University) spent the spring and summer of 1969 in Africa gathering material for a study of comparative education.

Mary Stephano (Syracuse University) is nearing completion of her dissertation concerning the role of schools in political socialization in Africa.

GEOGRAPHY

Robert Phillips (Geography, Sacramento State College) has completed fieldwork for his UCLA dissertation entitled "An Agricultural Geography of the Lower Kafue Basin, Zambia." In his study plant distributions are determined and then analyzed in terms of environmental, historical, and cultural factors.

William R. Stanley (Geography, University of South Carolina) is conducting a study of "The Lebanese in Sierra Leone," the core of which is the location of "non-explainable" Lebanese and the analysis of their distributions in the country. The study utilizes residuals from multiple-regression models to locate those areas where the number of resident Lebanese cannot be attributed to traditional trading practices but must be explained by other means. Mathematical models are used in the analysis, but the work can be easily understood by laymen. Stanley worked in Sierra Leone in 1965 and 1969. He would appreciate receiving information on the location of agricultural-export activity in Sierra Leone, especially piassava, palm kernels, coffee, and cacao.

Reed F. Stewart (Geography, Clark University) has proposed a dissertation "Vai Script Diffusion," in which he plans to examine the history of and the reasons for the diffusion of this nearly unique writing system in Liberia and Sierra Leone, a diffusion which continues at present among people other than the Vai. Of secondary interest to him is the reported but not confirmed link between the Vai and Kono peoples of Liberia and Sierra Leone and the Ligbi and Huela peoples of the Ivory Coast and Ghana. Stewart would welcome information on the use of the Vai script outside of the Vai home territory and on the language, history (especially migration history), and other aspects of the culture of the Ligbi and Huela.

HISTORY

John Orr Dwyer (History, Pomona College) is preparing a dissertation for Columbia University on "The Acholi of Uganda: Adjustment to Imperialism," an account of the imperial impact on Acholi society and of Acholi influence on British imperial policy, c. 1890-1930.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

P. A. Emanuel (Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leyden, Netherlands) is engaged in writing a thesis on the changing legitimacy of authority in a colony (northern Rhodesia), ultimately resulting in the transfer of sovereignty. Essentially the study will pertain to the decline of colonial authority and the rise of African authority. Emanuel has collected data from the political history of the territory, its anthropology, and party documents. His theoretical approach is based on J. H. A. Logemann's *On the Theory of a Positive Law of the State*, in which the legitimacy of authority is seen as the core problem of the sociology of the state and in which five types of legitimate authority are suggested; and on Peter M. Blau's *Exchange and Power in Social Life*. Any information on comparable research would be valuable to him.

J. Gus Liebenow (Chairman, African Studies Program, Indiana University) has completed a manuscript entitled *Colonial Rule and Political Development: A Micro Study of the Makonde of Tanzania*. The work was carried out over fifteen years and demonstrates the manner in which the capricious nature of colonial administration, combined with geographic isolation, frustrated the modernization of the

Makonde's political, economic, and social system.

Wyatt MacGaffey (Haverford College) has written Custom and Government in the Lower Congo, forthcoming from the University of California Press. The book deals with the structure of village society among the BaKongo and the changes it has undergone since 1885 as a result of being constituted a customary enclave within the framework of national government, both colonial and republican. MacGaffey analyzes the social processes of a particular village in detail and reveals an unusual "committee-network" form of government. He is also studying the ideology of custom and the continued vitality of Kongo religion and its relationship to folk sociology and to the political history of the lower Congo. He presented a paper "The Dwarf Soldiers of Simon Kimbangu: Exploration in Kongo Cosmology" at the 1969 annual meeting of the African Studies Association.

Dov Ronen (Purdue University) completed his dissertation for Indiana University, a study of "The Political Development in a West African Country, the Case of Dahomey." His purpose was to learn about the process of development in a newly-independent country and thus contribute to the formation of a theory (and practice) of political development and change. His research was financed through a grant from the Foreign Area Fellowship Program and encompasses "the study of pre-colonial traditional political systems, the formation of the modern elite, and political changes in Dahomey until the aftermath of the December 1967 military coup." Ronen is also the author of "Preliminary Notes on the Concept of Regionalism in Dahomey (Etudes Dahomeénnes, XII, April 1968) and "The Two Dahomeys" (Africa Report, XII, June 1968).

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INTERDISCIPLINARY PROJECT IN KENYA

During the spring and summer of 1969 the African Language and Area Center of Ohio University sponsored and operated a research project "Urban Change in Malindi, Kenya." As originally conceived, the project combined the disciplines of history, economics, and geography. It was initiated with a research seminar conducted during the spring quarter 1969 and culminated with a ten and one-half week field research trip to London (Public Record Office) and Africa. Because of local circumstances the research was altered somewhat in the field to include a study of Christian missionary impact on an essentially Muslim society. The students, all undergraduate, will present their reactions and findings at a special open seminar on November 22, 1969 at Ohio University. The project was supported largely by a grant from the Overseas Projects Section, Institute for International Education, U.S. Office of Education.

A REVIEW OF THE 1969 ASA MEETINGS

The African Studies Association, in conjunction with the Committee on African Studies in Canada, held its twelfth annual meeting in Montreal October 15-18, 1969. Crawford Young (University of Wisconsin) and Bernard Charles (University of Montreal) acted as program chairmen of the English and French Panels. Workshops and panels on a wide variety of subjects were planned, in addition to frequent showings of films, with several topics relevant to rural Africana. Some of the most pertinent of the papers listed in the program are catalogued below. Professor Donald Savage, Loyola College, Montreal, is collecting the panel papers, which will be subsequently published at Brandeis University under the direction of Professor Duffy. A complete listing of titles will appear in the African Studies Bulletin.

AGRICULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

Suzanne Daveau-Ribiero (Centro de Estudos Geograficos, Lisbon): "Natural Environment and Agrarian Societies in West Africa"

Souleymane Diarra (University of Dakar): "Rural Civilizations and Development in West Africa"

Jean M. Due (University of Illinois): "Agricultural Development in Ghana and the Ivory Coast in the 1960's"

Jean Gallais (University of Rouen): "West African Pastoral Societies in the Process of Development"

Clyde Ingle (University of Tennessee): "Compulsion and Rural Development in Tanzania"

Henri Nicolai (l'Université Libre de Bruxelles): "Agricultural Systems and Development in the Point Where the Forest and the Savanna Meet"

Henri Raulin (National Centre for Scientific Research, Paris): "Agricultural Techniques and Autonomous Capitalism in Niger"

EDUCATION

Ali Mazrui (Makerere University College): "Nationalist Criteria of Educational Relevance"

Kogila Moodley (Vancouver City College): "Dialectic of Higher Education for the Colonized: The Case of Non-White Universities in South Africa"

Alan Peshkin (University of Illinois): "Education and Political Socialization in Post-Civil War Nigeria"

David N. Wilson (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education): "Manpower Planning: Technical Education"

RESPONSES TO CHANGE

Problems and changes resulting from migration:

George Bond (Columbia University): "Labor Migration and Rural Activism: The Yomba Case"
Herschelle S. Challenor (Brooklyn College): "The Problem of the Repatriation of Dahomeyan Strangers"
Bruno LeCour Grandmaison (Centre ORSTOM, Abidjan): "Migrations and Economic Growth in the Ivory Coast"
Gloria Marshall (University of Michigan): "The Yoruba Diaspora"
Enid Schidkraut (Cambridge University): "Strangers and Local Government in Kumasi"

Problems of identity in modern Africa:

André Lux (Laval University): "Rural Workers Versus Their Rustic Kinship"
Eugeen Roosens (University of Louvain): "Formal Education and Socio-Cultural Identity in Congo-Kinshasha"
Alf Schwartz (Laval University): "The Urban African in Search of an Identity"
Ginette Trépanier (Laval University): "Cameroun Woman Between Emancipation and Alienation"

Psychiatric aspects of rapid change:

Tolani Asuni (Aro Hospital, Abeokuta, Nigeria): "Socio-Psychiatric Problems in Transitional Nigeria"
Henri Collomb and Babacar Diop (University of Dakar): "Migration Urbaine et Santé Mentale"
James L. Gibbs (Stanford University): "A Comparative Delineation of the Kpelle Personality Profile"
Paul Parin (Zurich): "Personality Traits Susceptible to Deterioration Under the Impact of Cultural Change"
S. Kirson Weinberg (Roosevelt University): "Communication and Culture in West African Psychotherapy"

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

National and local politics:

Samir Amin (University of Dakar): "Development of National Capitalism: Autonomous or Peripheral Capitalism"
Jonathan Barker (University of Toronto): "Small Communities and National Politics: Notes on Some Theoretical and Conceptual Issues"
Gérard Chaliand: "Experiences of a Socialist Nature in Africa"
Allan F. Hershfield (University of Kentucky): "Ibo Sons Abroad: A Window on the World. A Modification of the Two-Step Flow Hypothesis"
Barbara C. Lewis (Northwestern University): "Boundary Maintenance Between the Association and Non-Associational Interests (and Personalities) of the Gagna"
Norman N. Miller (Michigan State University): "Agricultural Politics and Administration in Nyeri, Kenya"

Barbara Calloway Osakwe (California State College, Los Angeles): "Political Development and Institutional Transfer in Aba: A Case Study in Local Government"
Harriet Schiffer (Temple University): "Political Linkage in Ghana: Bekwai District as a Case Study"

Nigeria and Biafra; reconciliation and reconstruction:

Uma Eleazu (University of California, Irvine): "Biafra-Nigeria, and the OAU: Self-Determination vs. Territorial Integrity"
William Fleming (New York University) and Jan Jorgensen (McGill University): "Patterns of Cleavage in Pre-Civil War Nigeria: An Analysis of Parliamentary Debates"
James O'Connell (Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria): "Nigerian Politics: The Complexity of Dissent"

Development planning and administration:

Zdenek Cervenko (Institute of African Studies, Uppsala): "The Role of the Civil Service in Shaping the Policies of Ghana in Nkromah's Period and After"
Carl K. Eicher and Glenn L. Johnson (Michigan State University): "Planning for the New States"
Terence K. Hopkins (Columbia University): "Development, Inequality, and Politics: Some Non-Economic Implications and Requirements of Development Planning"
Robert S. Jordan (George Washington University): "The Place of the Creoles in Post-Independence Attempts to "Africanize" the Bureaucracy in Sierra Leone"
Anthony H. Rweyemamu (University College, Dar es Salaam): "Development Administration: Some Reflections on East African Experience"
Wolfgang Stolper (University of Michigan): "Crisis in Planning or Crisis of Planners?"
Richard Stren (University of Toronto): "The Impact of Local Councils on Development: The Case of Kenya"
Brian VanArkadie (University of Sussex): "Comprehensive Planning as a Tool of National Development: The Case Revisited"

OF GENERAL INTEREST TO THE RESEARCHER

Michael Armer (Northwestern University): "Individual Modernity: A Review and Reconceptualization"
Robert Bates (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): "Approaches to Ethnic Behavior"
Robert LeVine (University of Chicago): "Psych-Social Studies and Africa"
Alvin Magid (State University of New York, Albany): "Concepts and Conceptual Frameworks in African Political Research"
Marc Swartz (University of California, San Diego): "Area Studies, Theory, and Cross-Cultural Comparison"

RESEARCH PROJECTS

ACCULTURATION IN UGANDA

Michael C. Robbins (Anthropology, University of Missouri) filed a final report in June 1969 on his research as principal investigator for the project "A Cultural Ecology Survey of the Baganda: An Investigation of Social and Psychological Aspects of Modernization in an African Society." Fieldwork began in 1967, and the majority of data is now collected although not all of it has been analyzed. Among the investigators' major concerns were alcohol use, perception and motor skills, and agricultural development. Recent publications resulting from research in Uganda include "Drinking Patterns and Acculturation in Rural Uganda" by Robbins and Richard B. Pollnac (*American Anthropologist*, LXXI, 2, April 1969); "Pictorial Depth Perception and Acculturation Among the Baganda" by Philip L. Kilbride and Robbins (*American Anthropologist*, LXXI, 2, April 1969); "Factor Analysis and Case Selection in Complex Societies: A Buganda Example by Robbins *et al.*, to appear in *Human Organization*, fall of 1969. In addition, Robbins and Pollnac presented a paper at the joint meetings of the Southern Anthropological Society at New Orleans in 1969; "Gratification Patterns and Acculturation in Rural Buganda."

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN SUKUMALAND

James R. Finucane (Political Science), Thomas D. Hankins (Geography), Robert H. Hulls (Sociology), and Arne Larsen (Economics) all at University College, Dar es Salaam, are doing field research on an interdisciplinary rural research project in Sukumaland, Tanzania. The project, funded by a grant from the Danish government to University College, is charged with providing information and recommendations concerning agricultural development. The initial phase of the study is largely devoted to a survey of three hundred farmers in fifteen areas of the region. Subjects being investigated include land use and potential, agricultural methods and yields, extension activities, social structure, and regional and local administration. Analysis of specific problems will follow the survey.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN TANZANIA

Michael Duffy, socio-economic director of a large diocese in Shinyanga, Tanzania reports on his work in the Salawe parish from 1967 to the present. Salawe is a poor and isolated area in Sukumaland; the "people possess little farming skills of the type necessary to cope with the local situation and the picture becomes one of a subsistence cycle; some years a little better, some years a little worse. The

American mission society in Salawe introduced modern cotton farming in 1967, but by the end of the season only one of the twelve volunteer farmers had confined himself to the new agricultural methods. The 1968-69 season found thirteen farmers willing to cultivate cotton communally, a project which initially worked well. Duffy, on the whole, does not see an encouraging future. He feels that the program has proved that semiliterate peasant farmers can learn and execute a complex modern method, but that social obstacles to innovations must be studied and dealt with before real progress can be achieved.

COOPERATIVES IN RURAL AFRICA

Raymond Apthorpe (Director, United Nations Research Institute of Social Development's Africa Project) has undertaken a large-scale systematic and comparative study of intermediate-sized cooperatives entitled "cooperative Institutions and Planned Change in Africa." New studies have been initiated under Apthorpe's supervision in Senegal, Tunisia, Tanzania, Ghana, and Botswana. In addition, the project includes the task of collating all the available academic and governmental material on cooperatives of intermediate size. Apthorpe would appreciate information on all kinds of cooperatives and similar institutions in rural areas everywhere in Africa. In return for help, he will keep the contributors in touch with the progress of the Continent Study as a whole.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF EAST AFRICA

E. Polomé (Linguistics, University of Texas) is engaged with a team of researchers in a socio-linguistic survey of Tanzania, part of a larger linguistics project. Fieldwork will continue until the end of next summer with special concentration on the problem of language use in rural areas. The results of the study should be interesting from several points of view, namely regarding the impact of the use of the national language on rural areas where till now only the tribal language has prevailed and the problems of communication of the central government with the same areas.

RURAL AFRICANA

Statement of Research Interest

This form is to enable the editors to provide a brief note on your work and to make your interests known to colleagues who may share the research orientation and offer helpful comment or source material. (Return to: Rural Africana, African Studies Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48823.)

Name

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General Project Title

Current Status

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Type of Comment or Material Needed